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NEW ZEALAND

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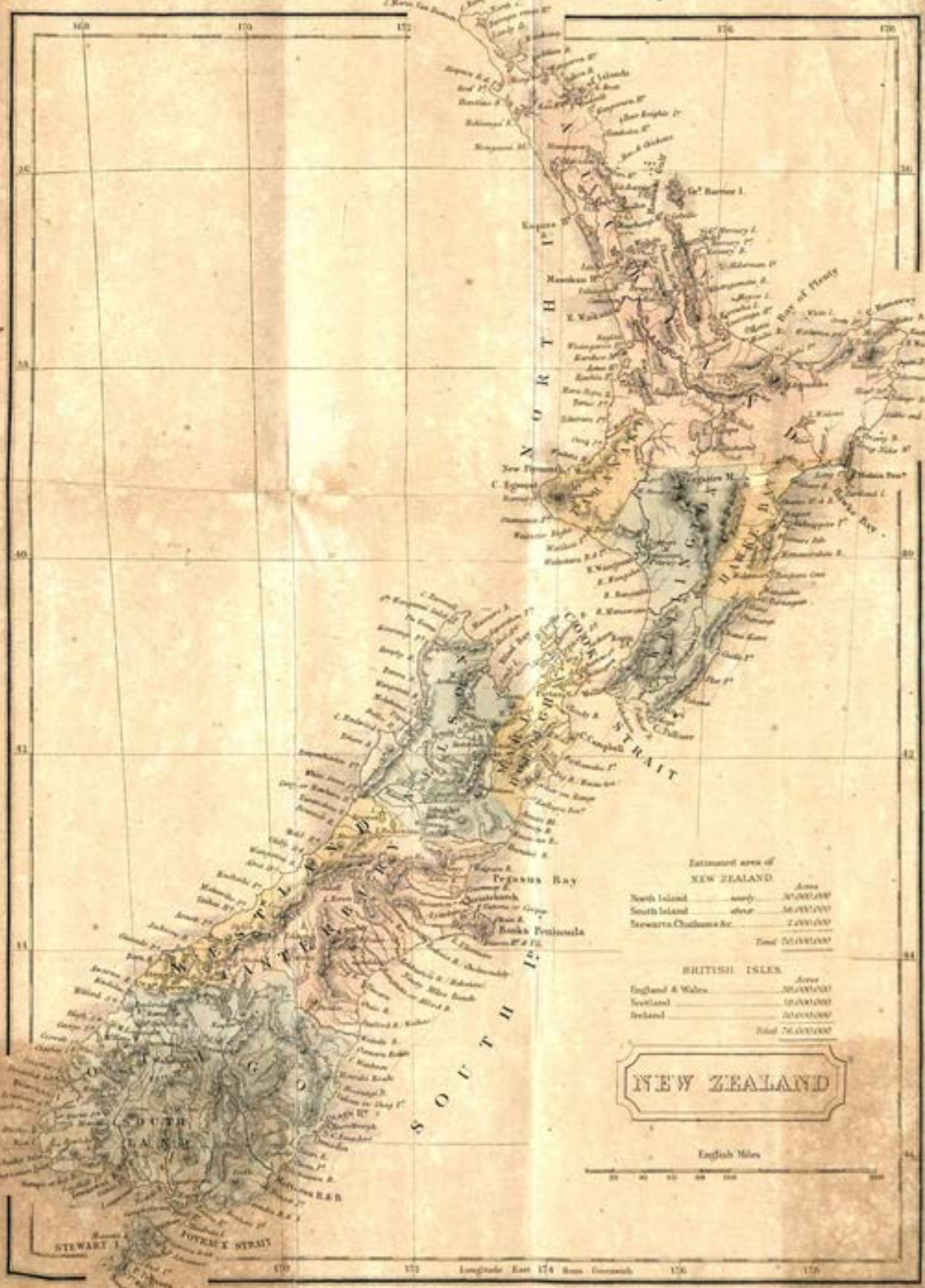
NORTH ISLAND
SOUTH ISLAND
COOK STRAIT
Estimated area of
NEW ZEALAND
North Island nearly 30,000,000
South Island about 38,000,000
Stewarts Chathams &c. 2,000,000
Total 70,000,000
BRITISH ISLES
England & Wales 38,000,000
Scotland 18,000,000
Ireland 20,000,000
Total 76,000,000
NEW ZEALAND
English Miles
Longitude East 174 from Greenwich

NEW ZEALAND

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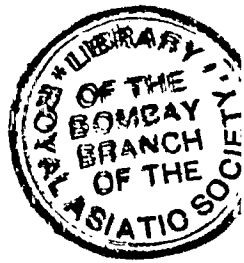

BY

ALEXANDER KENNEDY

FORMERLY

MANAGER OF THE UNION BANK OF AUSTRALIA, AT AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, AND SUBSEQUENTLY FOR SOME YEARS GENERAL MANAGER AND INSPECTOR OF THE BANK OF NEW ZEALAND

LONDON

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1873

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PREFACE

THIS WORK is written in a faithful spirit, and with the view of making an interesting and highly important country better known than it is at present to the people of the British Isles; as well as of showing to my numerous friends in that distant colony, my affection for NEW ZEALAND.

LONDON: *June* 2, 1873.

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CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—The physical Formation and geological Character of the Islands of New Zealand, including their mineral Wealth — Climate — Its beneficial Influence on the Native Race of Inhabitants — New Zealand Fauna — The Moa — The Kiwi Apteryx—English Birds introduced and acclimatised—Game—Attempts to acclimatise the Salmon—Abundance of Fish in the Sea on its Coasts—Disappearance of the Seal in New Zealand—Forests—The Gum of the Kauri—The Phormium Tenax, or New Zealand Flax—Scarcity of indigenous esculent Productions—Tropical Fruits grow in the Northern Part of the North Island—English small Fruits grow in abundance—Grain of all Kinds produced in perfection—Flocks and Herds—New Zealand colonised from different Points—System of Government — The Governments of Australia and New Zealand — Character of New Zealand Statesmen—Comparative Statement of the Debt of England with that of New Zealand—It is to be hoped that New Zealand will be guided and directed safely in her Destiny towards a great Nation—Immigration—Bonâ fide Settlers—The Aboriginal Inhabitants.

I VENTURE to write my reminiscences of New Zealand, extending over a period of thirty years, from its settlement as a British Colony in the year 1840 down to the present time. And without presuming to regard the traditions of its prehistoric times as altogether fabulous, I shall confine the recital of events within the bounds of authentic evidence, and beginning my narrative by relating some particulars of Tasman's interesting voyage in the South Pacific

Ocean, and his discovery of the country in the year 1642, slightly sketch its condition from that period until the group was visited by Cook in 1769. I shall briefly trace its early intercourse with the adventurers engaged in the whaling, sealing and trading expeditions, from the neighbouring English settlement founded at Port Jackson in 1788, until the first arrival in the country of the Church of England Missionaries in 1814, who sympathised with the natives, and nobly supported their claims to freedom and independence. And also narrate how the simplicity of the natives exposed them to be duped in their transactions by their more civilised visitors, and how they became the prey of the whaling, trading and land-jobbing adventurers from all parts of the world until the arrival of the New Zealand Company, whose gigantic operations aroused the attention and precipitated the interference of the Government, who then saw the necessity for prompt action, and took immediate measures to obtain the consent of the natives to proclaim the country a British colony. It will be no less my duty to record, in a faithful manner, the errors of the Government, who, by their injudicious measures towards the natives, alienated the allegiance of a simple, loyal and brave race, involving the country in civil war, and exposing the industrious, peaceful and unprotected colonists to all the horrors of a barbarous warfare, resulting in a series of defeats mingled with triumphs, and of follies still more humiliating than disasters, without a parallel in this age of intelligent practical experience in the administration of public affairs. In conclusion I shall have the satisfaction of chronicling how by a wise, politic and resolute resistance on the

part of the Imperial Government to the demands of the colonial authorities peace was restored, and prosperity re-established, with every prospect of maintaining uninterrupted the sound and permanent welfare of the country, increasing year by year in wealth and population, and eventually developing at no remote period into a great and powerful nation.

In order to render these reminiscences intelligible to the reader, I shall endeavour to give in a very brief manner a sketch of the country, as an introduction to my narrative.

The famous line 'Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos' slightly modified would have been as faithful a description of New Zealand in the early part of the present century, as the original was of Britain in the time of Virgil. The remote situation of New Zealand, and its separation from the rest of the world, as well as the imperfectly understood history of the country and its people at this early period, present a striking resemblance to the character and condition of Britain prior to the time of Cæsar's invasion. In some respects the islands of the respective countries resemble each other. The New Zealand group consists of two islands, the North and South, with a much smaller one called Stewart's, besides numerous scattered islets, and is the nearest land to the antipodes of England; while its position on the globe, situated as it is between 34° and 47° south latitude, and from 166° to 179° east longitude, is as favourable as the position of the British Isles for the development and operations of commerce. The extreme length of the islands from north to south is nearly 1,200 miles, and their breadth varies from 300 miles to about half

a mile at Auckland, although 100 is about the average. The whole group contains about 70,000,000 acres, of which the North Island includes about 30,000,000, the South Island 38,000,000, and Stewart's, including islets, 2,000,000; forming altogether an area a little less in extent than Great Britain and Ireland. England is allowed to be the centre of the greatest breadth of land on the surface of the globe, but New Zealand is the centre of a boundless waste of waters, and surrounded by the greatest extent of ocean in the world.[1]

On the east the Pacific rolls its billows in an unbroken sweep to South America, on the west to Australia, while northward and southward it stretches away to the Arctic and Antarctic circles. From its insular and oceanic position, entirely dependent on the superiority of its nautical skill and enterprise, New Zealand, like England, if destined to achieve greatness and become powerful, can only do so by means of a like maritime supremacy. The advantages of its situation in the centre of the great Pacific Ocean can hardly be over-estimated; on the one side, at the distance of 1,000 miles from its coasts, lies the great island of Australia, whose population in a few years will be numbered in millions. On the other side, and within easy access of its shores, are the numberless islands of the South Seas, with their soft voluptuous climate, primitive

[1] Lieutenant Maury in his highly interesting work on the Physical Geography of the Sea, mentions that such is the inequality of the distribution of land over the surface of the globe, that the world may be divided into hemispheres, the one consisting of all the land in it except Australia and a slip of America, the other containing all the great waters, except the Atlantic Ocean. England is the centre of the former, and New Zealand is the nearest land to the centre of the latter.

fertility and beauty. This insular region of the South Seas, the most beautiful on the globe, will in a short time come under the commercial sway of New Zealand, if not into its direct possession; when the remotest isles will be explored and cultivated, all the arts of busy life introduced, and the results of a higher and more enlightened civilisation made visible on every shore.

The precepts of inspired wisdom, the glories of artistic genius, and the light of science, travelled westward from the regions of the morn: and will continue to travel to the uttermost parts of the earth, until all shall be enlightened and civilised.

The shores of the Mediterranean were the ancient seats of trade and civilisation; the Atlantic is now the great thoroughfare of nations; and it appears that the smooth waters of the broad Pacific are destined to be the future great highway of the world. With landscapes as picturesque as those on the azure shores of the Ægean Sea, and with climates as genial as those of the Cyclades, it may be that those wild islands of the South Sea, instead of being as they are now, or were lately, the abodes of lawless men and roving buccaneers, will be peopled by a new and nobler race, living under the beneficent laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton;—a race strong in battle and wise in council, distinguished in science and celebrated for institutions of human polity and wisdom, and whose artistic genius, influenced by the brilliancy of the landscape and radiance of the climate, may perhaps attempt the loftiest flights, and attain to the highest excellence.

There is a singular variety as well as completeness

in the physical formation and geological character of the country. In its grand mountains, lovely valleys, and extensive plains: its landscapes, rivers, lakes and streams—New Zealand is an epitome in miniature of all the great continents of the world.

It has its elevated regions wrapped in everlasting snows, and glaciers rivalling those of Switzerland.[1] A chain of mountains extends from the centre of the North Island to the southern extremity of the Southern, and one peak in this range, Mount Cook, is upwards of 13,000 feet high. It abounds in pleasant valleys, extensive plains and elevated table-lands, as well as rocky wildernesses and barren hills. There are dreary and dismal swamps, and tens of thousands of acres covered with the *phormium tenax*, or indigenous flax. In many places there are low rolling hills sweeping down to the plains, and long stretches of undulating and gloomy fern downs. Precipitous and impassable gorges detach some districts; and streams and water-courses intersect the country in every direction.

It has magnificent forests, beautiful copses, evergreen plants and flowery thickets, including the graceful fern tree and cabbage palm, typical of Eastern landscapes and tropical regions.

There are splendid harbours, noble estuaries, large inland lakes, and navigable rivers. The largest river, the Waikato, flows through Taupo, a lake twenty-five miles long, in a stream differing in temperature and colour from the waters of the lake; thus presenting a parallel instance to the Lake of

[1] The Swiss glaciers are not found at a lower level than 3000 feet above the sea, but the New Zealand glaciers descend to within 1000 feet of the sea level.

Geneva traversed by the Rhone; Loch Tay by the river Tay; and the Sea of Galilee, by the waters of the Jordan.

There are volcanic mountains throwing up fire and lava, and numerous geysers in every part of the North Island, with hot springs, and warm lakes. Beds of coal and limestone are also found in numerous places, besides ores of silver, copper, tin, and iron.

There are likewise immense stores of *auriferous wealth*, possessing the advantage of being available without exposure to the risks and vicissitudes, and the extremes of climate, which prevail in 'Greenland's Icy Mountains,' or on 'India's Coral Strand,' the climate being superior to that of England. In the rocky wildernesses, in the sand on the sea shore, as well as under the soil of some of the fertile valleys and amongst the pebbles deposited on the margin of the crystal streams, there are to be found heaps of gold. The country has its gold-bearing quartz-reefs, its rich alluvial gold-fields, and its golden sand carried down by the rivers to the sea, then thrown back by the force of the waves, and cast ashore high and dry by the rising of every tide.[1]

A temperate climate, in many respects similar to that of England although the result of opposite influences, prevails in New Zealand. The climate of England, from the heat of the great Gulf Stream, is rendered warmer by several degrees than it is entitled to be from its position on the globe; while the climate of New Zealand, from the vast expanse

[1] Since the first discovery of gold in the country in 1852, gold in bullion to the value of 26,000,000*l.* sterling has been exported.

of ocean which surrounds it, is rendered many degrees colder than it would naturally be from its range of latitude. Australia is continental; New Zealand is not only insular, but oceanic, in its climate. Steady weather prevails in Australia; constant change, showers and sunshine, is the rule in New Zealand. From the extreme length of the islands in latitude, a greater range of temperature, and a more agreeable variety of climate prevail than are experienced in any other country of its size. The climate, however, is neither hot nor cold: the heat of summer does not scorch, the winter does not pinch with cold, and there is no day in the year nor any hour of the day when, as regards temperature, exercise in the open air is not enjoyable. It is seldom warmer in summer than it is in England, while the heat is less oppressive, and the nights, even in the hottest season, are always cool and pleasant. There is little or no winter. In the northern part of the North Island the myrtle and geraniums bloom unsheltered all the year, and the temperature of the winter season seldom falls below the range of an English April. The presence of winter is only felt by the shorter days and the more boisterous breezes whirling in fierce gusts over the hills, and sometimes sweeping the plains with tempestuous violence. In the South during winter the tops of the hills are white with snow, and occasionally the plains are covered, but only for a few hours, and except in the more elevated places, amongst the perpetual snows and glaciers, extreme cold is not experienced in any season throughout the colony. Though there is more sunshine in New Zealand than in England, as much rain falls in the one country as

in the other, and visitors from Australia complain of the excessive humidity of New Zealand, as the French complain of the humidity of the English climate. Although as much rain falls, the weather is less foggy and cloudy than it is in England; while the constant change and rapid succession of rain and sunshine keep the earth cool and the streams flowing, the air pure and buoyant, the pastures fresh, and the meadows green. The same influence clothes the hills with the richest verdure, and the fertile plains with luxuriant vegetation. It is universally admitted that the aboriginal inhabitants, the Maories, are, mentally and physically, inferior to no race in the world—and this circumstance may be adduced as proof of the climate being extremely favourable to the full development and perfection of the human frame and intellect.

The great longevity attained by many of the Maories is to be attributed to their habit of spending so great a portion of their lives in the open air of such a fine climate. No apprehension need therefore be entertained that the English in future generations will become deteriorated mentally or physically by continued residence in New Zealand.

Charles II. said that the climate of England invited people to spend more days in the year, and more hours of the day, in the open air than that of any other country. New Zealand cannot be excelled in this respect, for the inducements to remain in the open air are there much greater than in England; while the fine weather sports, recreations and amusements, induced by the attractions of such a climate, and enjoyed by all, are calculated to develop

as well as maintain in a high degree mental and physical vigour.

The comparative table (on opposite page) of climate as observed at the different meteorological stations in New Zealand during the year 1871, is highly interesting, as it is an authentic record of the character of the climate in all parts of the colony.

Captain Cook in his first visit to New Zealand remarked that the country contained few or no animals: the native rat, an animal less in size than our Hanoverian rat, and a green lizard from four to six inches long, being the only quadrupeds observed by him; snakes do not exist, and no traces of them have ever been discovered. On his departure Cook left a number of animals, and these had increased in a rapid manner long before the country became a British colony. Since that time the bones of a gigantic wingless bird, the 'Moa,' have been discovered, which must have stood ten feet high, and although now extinct was in all probability alive in Cook's time. The *habitat* of the last living Moa, is placed by Maori tradition at Punakitiri Turanga, Poverty Bay district, in the North Island, where the bird is described, when resting, to have stood on one foot with its beak always turned towards the quarter whence the wind blew. The songs and traditions of the Maories frequently refer to the wearing of the feathers of the 'Moa' by queenly damsels, and princely chieftains; and some of the early colonists remember chiefs, whose veracity they could not doubt, who assured them that they had often seen and admired the beautiful but rare feathers of the renowned bird of their ancestors, the 'Moa.'

A bird of the same kind still exists, but small in

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND, 1871.—No. 70.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CLIMATE, AS OBSERVED AT THE METEOROLOGICAL STATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND, DURING THE YEAR 1871.

STATIONS	ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE (REDUCED AND CORRECTED).				TEMPERATURE FROM SELF-REGISTERING INSTRUMENTS									COMPUTED FROM OBSERVATIONS		
					TEMPERATURE OF AIR IN SHADE					SOLAR RADIATION		TERRESTRIAL RADIATION				
	Mean Height of Barometer	Maximum recorded during the Year, and Date	Minimum recorded during the Year, and Date	Extreme Range	Mean	Maximum recorded during the Year, and Date	Minimum recorded during the Year, and Date	Extreme Range	Mean Daily Range of Temperature for Year	Maximum for Year, and Date	Mean	Minimum for Year, and Date.	Mean	Mean Elastic Force of Vapour for Year	Mean Temperature of Dew Point for Year	Mean Humidity for Year, Saturation =100
	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Fah.	Inch	Fah.	Fah.
Mongani	30·003	30·488 on 27 Oct.	29·242 on 6 Mar.	1·246	60·2	91·5 on 25 Dec.	34·0 on 5 & 19 Aug.	57·5	14·1	152·0 on 25 Dec.	118·6	—	—	·434	54·6	82
Auckland	29·987	30·560 on 19 Sept.	29·127 on 25 Mar.	1·433	58·5	83·2 on 1 Feb.	34·0 on 18 Aug.	49·2	13·6	153·0 on 25 Feb.	117·8	15·1 on 5 Aug.	33·4	·402	52·7	81
Taranaki	29·948	30·552 on 19 Sept.	29·142 on 25 Mar.	1·410	56·3	82·6 on 20 Jan.	29·0 on 5 Aug.	53·6	16·3	151·4 on 20 Jan.	120·9	20·0 on 4 & 5 Aug.	37·8	·325	46·8	71
Napier †	*29·883*	*30·658 on* 19 Sept.	*29·048 on* 30 Aug.	*1·610*	*58·0*	*86·0 on* 28 Nov.	*34·0 on* 5 Aug.	*52·0*	*15·7*	*144·0 on* 28 Nov.	*115·7*	*13·0 on* 5 Aug.	*31·7*	*·396*	*52·0*	*80*
Wellington	29·862	30·601 on 19 Sept.	28·586 on 6 Mar.	2·015	54·6	78·5 on 3 & 25 Jan.	33·9 on 5 Aug.	44·6	11·5	140·0 on 19, 27, 29 & 31 Dec.	100·3	27·0 on 12 July & 5 Aug.	42·4	·332	47·5	77
Nelson	29·867	30·575 on 19 Sept.	28·912 on 16 July	1·663	55·1	84·0 on 29 Jan.	28·0 on 19 Aug.	56·0	20·5	167·0 on 17 Dec.	127·6	—	—	·354	48·8	79
Christchurch	29·853	30·560 on 1 May	28·734 on 15 July	1·826	52·0	86·9 on 29 Jan.	24·9 on 22 June	62·0	15·5	163·6 on 17 Jan.	110·5	10·7 on 22 June	32·5	·322	46·4	81
Bealey †	29·757	30·418 on 19 Sept.	29·028 on 20 July	1·390	46·8	79·2 on 26 Jan.	17·0 on 26 June	62·2	15·8	157·6 on 4 Feb.	105·1	—4·4 on 25&26June	18·7	·269	41·6	84
Hokitika	29·905	30·669 on 19 Sept.	28·903 on 16 July	1·766	53·1	74·9 on 11 Jan.	29·2 on 4 Aug.	45·7	13·0	107·3 on 16 Jan.	76·9	22·8 on 20 May	39·6	·339	48·0	83
Dunedin	29·821	30·532 on 19 Sept.	28·720 on 16 July	1·812	50·3	85·0 on 28 Jan.	30·0 on 5 Sept.	55·0	14·1	—	—	—	—	·277	42·6	75
Southland	29·800	30·566 on 30 April	28·552 on 18 July	2·014	50·0	86·0 on 15 Jan.	21·0 on 21 June	65·0	19·5	162·0 on 26 Jan.	114·3	9·0 on 27 June	30·7	·276	42·5	75

The dates of Earthquakes marked thus * on the following returns were described as SMART.

† In first heading of Returns from Napier and Bealey—for 1870, *read* 1871.

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND, 1871.—No. 70, (*continued*).

STATIONS	Rain			Wind											Cloud Mean	Number of Days					
				Number of Days it blew from any Point: Morning Observations									Mean Velocity in Miles in 24 Hours for Year	Maximum Velocity in miles in any 24 Hours during Year, and Date	0=Clear Sky 10=Overcast	Gales or High Winds	Thunder	Snow	Hail	Fog	Earthquakes
	Total Rainfall for Year	Number of days on which Rain fell in the Year	Maximum Rainfall recorded in any 24 Hours during the Year, and Date	N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.	Calm									
	Inches	Days	Inches																		
Monganui	57·640	185	3·740 on 4 April	15	31	46	29	32	80	34	67	31	193	886 on 4 April	5·9	44	21	0	1	2	0
Auckland	47·505	194	2·810 on 24 Feb.	28	52	32	18	43	116	30	26	20	331	1·360 on 25 Mar.	6·0	44	20	1	10	1	0
Taranaki	72·120	207	4·080 on 29 Oct.	29	77	17	67	6	115	24	30	0	221	550 on 21 July	6·8	33	22	0	6	12	1
Napier †	35·890	106	3·350 on 11 Jan.	27	111	5	16	60	61	51	31	3	250	942 on 25 Feb.	2·3	16	4	0	1	1	3
Wellington	64·057	183	3·650 on 6 March	19	19	7	105	1	17	4	191	2	202	900 on 27 Aug.	5·9	43	6	3	10	3	11
Nelson	55·670	101	3·800 on 5 Oct.	37	53	4	54	10	92	45	70	0	183	494 on 6 April	5·9	40	4	2	1	1	2
Christchurch	27·935	126	1·979 on 28 Feb.	7	105	68	9	21	124	12	14	5	162	453 on 9 Oct.	5·4	19	4	1	8	4	2
Bealey †	106·801	167	5·560 on 4 May	0	34	0	22	1	21	1	220	66	229	996 on 7 Dec.	5·1	78	10	25	5	18	2
Hokitika	122·440	196	3·750 on 16 July	31	40	40	87	7	75	29	51	5	244	575 on 24 May	4·5	49	19	0	6	15	3
Dunedin	22·146	149	1·240 on 31 Aug.	38	33	29	20	36	40	83	17	69	191	810 on 23 May	5·3	21	4	9	5	8	2
Southland	39·030	144	2·390 on 4 May	36	4	41	71	0	19	124	69	1	158	803 on 24 Dec.	5·2	11	17	10	24	0	2

size (Kiwi apteryx), which is, however, fast disappearing.

This bird, according to Professor Owen, is 'the highest representative of the warm-blooded class of animals that lived in New Zealand prior to the introduction of man. The apteryx is entirely nocturnal in its habits, and searches the ground for its food more by smell than by sight; the olfactory openings in its long bill are therefore placed near to the point of the beak, in order to enable it to scent the worms on which it feeds far below the surface of the ground. In shape it resembles no other bird, and in size is not larger than a Guinea fowl, while its legs are almost as powerful as those of an ostrich. The apteryx must not be regarded as an exceptional creature, but rather as the remaining type of a much larger class of birds peculiar to the islands of New Zealand which have been destroyed since the advent of man.'

Few birds are to be seen in the neighbourhood of the European settlements, but numerous waterfowl frequent the rivers and lakes of the interior, which in some places swarm with wild duck and teal. The white crane inhabits remote places, and the saying 'as solitary as a white crane,' is a proverb among the Maories. The pukeko or swamp hen, as well as the weka or wood hen, are numerous and much prized by the natives, as they are plump and easily caught. In some parts the indigenous quail are plentiful, although they are rapidly decreasing, and a land-rail, resembling the English one, is found in many districts. The New Zealand bittern is similar to the English specimen in its habits, size and plumage; and the wood-pigeon, in form, colour and habits,

resembles its English namesake, and has the same soft and low note described by Sir Walter Scott as 'full of peace, and rest and love.'

The kaka, a parrot, in form and colour resembling the sparrow-hawk, is very common, and is a favourite pet with the Maories. A small owl, the morepork, is plentiful, and well-known from its peculiar cry. There is a daring bird of prey, the 'harrier,' in immense numbers, in figure, size and plumage similar to the goshawk, which will often swoop into a settler's poultry-yard and seize and carry off its prey within a few yards of the owner. Pheasants and rabbits are frequently attacked and killed by this fierce bird. A kingfisher, in form and colour similar to the English bird, is numerous, and in its habits of plunder resembles the English magpie, but is tolerated on the ground of its being an enemy to the grubs and caterpillars. The tui is a handsome bird, in form and plumage resembling the English blackbird, but having two white feathers projecting from its breast, which, contrasted with its jet-black colour, give it a remarkable appearance; this bird is found in great numbers in all parts of the colony, and seems partial to the buds and flowers of the yellow kowhai, and is often seen on the branches of that beautiful tree.

As a rule, however, the New Zealand birds frequent remote places, and are found in the greatest number and highest state of perfection in the secluded parts of the forests, and their song is only heard at a certain hour—just at the dawn of day, when the home of the settler, in some remote spot, far away from the 'busy haunts of man,' is serenaded by a numerous band of little choristers 'warbling their

native wood notes wild,' including the famous bell bird, with its chimes like tinkling bells, which fall upon the ear during the solemn stillness, amidst the solitude of the forest, in strains not only extremely melodious but heard distinctly on all sides to a great distance, and making the neighbouring woods ring with its silver-toned notes.

The Maories, who are distinguished for the habit of accurately observing the facts of nature, have remarked that some of the small native birds are gradually disappearing, and they allege that those birds are in the habit of gathering their food by dipping their long tongues into the blossoms of native trees, but that since the introduction of bees the latter have likewise sought the same blossoms for honey, and while concealed in the flower have stung the tongues of the birds, and so caused their death. The natives compare the condition and fate of these little birds with themselves, and observe, that while unconscious of the dangers introduced by civilisation they are exposed to its pit-falls, and become its victims, and, in the same manner as the birds, are themselves gradually disappearing. These remarks, highly interesting and instructive as displaying intelligence on the part of the Maories, are at the same time tinged with a shade of natural sadness, induced by the perception that such a noble and intelligent aboriginal race are, in this manner, rapidly passing away.

Since New Zealand became a British colony, the blackbird, starling and many of the English small birds, as well as rooks, have been introduced into the various provinces, and it is to be hoped they will thrive and do well, as the native insectivorous birds

are very limited in number. The thrush and skylark should be imported as they excel all other birds as songsters, and are characteristic denizens of our English rural landscapes. Bees were early introduced, and have spread all over the country, and the home of the settler is supplied in abundance with honey from the wild bees of the forest, which in many places swarms with them.

Game of various kinds have been acclimatised; about twenty-five years since the English pheasant was introduced by an early colonist, Mr. Walter Brodie, on his property at Monganui and soon spread over all the northern district; and some eighteen years ago the Chinese pheasant was imported by Mr. Thomas Henderson, an Auckland merchant, and placed on his estate in the neighbourhood of Auckland, and these have increased so rapidly that pheasants are now as plentiful within a radius of fifty miles of Auckland as they are in any part of England. Many attempts have been made to acclimatise the English partridge, but with small success; this partial failure is not, however, to be attributed, as alleged by many, to the absence of fields of stubble and turnips, but simply to the fact that the English partridge is exceptional in its habits, and does not appear to thrive anywhere so well as in the British Isles.

Swans, black and white, have lately been introduced, and are to be seen in a wild state on the lakes and lagoons of the interior, and seem to be increasing rapidly. Red and fallow deer are easily acclimatised, and are now found in some places in great numbers.

The hare, however, appears less at home in New Zealand than might have been expected, and increases in numbers slowly. This is to be regretted,

as I am inclined to say with Martial, 'Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus.' Rabbits, however, multiply and increase in such a manner as to be considered a nuisance rather than a benefit.

Within the last few years great zeal has been manifested, and a large amount of money expended, in attempts to introduce and acclimatise the salmon in the rivers of New Zealand; but, as yet, without success, although many believe that such an operation is practicable. Judging, however, from the character of the streams, a favourable result of such experimental measures seems to me hopeless. Few, if any, of the rivers, with the exception perhaps of the Mataura, take their course through the geological formation which distinguishes the salmon river or stream.[1] A peculiar feature of many, if not of all the rivers of New Zealand, is, that they are comparatively destitute of fish beyond the point reached or affected by the tide. It would therefore appear from this circumstance that the water possesses some mineral or other qualities unfavourable to piscatory life.

Fish in any quantity are seldom found in the streams and rivers of the interior at a distance from the sea;[2] such being the character of the rivers, little

[1] The Hon. Grantley F. Berkeley is a high authority in such matters, and he says, 'All that has been done, or that man can do, will never make the Stour a salmon river. It is too slow, too chalky, too muddy, and too weedy, ever to entice to its depths and shoals enough salmon to give ten fish in a season to forty miles of water.' The Tay is, *par excellence*, a salmon river, but even there, such is the delicate nature of the fish, it is said that only one egg out of a thousand yields a salmon to the table.

[2] The extraordinary number of eels found, not only in all rivers and streams, but in swamps and wherever there is moisture in New Zealand,

hope can be entertained that the experiments now on trial for introducing salmon into the rivers of New Zealand will prove successful.

The habitation of the salmon appears to be confined to the northern regions of the globe. It is found in the greatest perfection in the British Isles, and in some parts of the continent of Europe; it exists in Canada, British Columbia, California, and in some of the rivers of China; but it has not been found south of the equator. It is however alleged, that it has been acclimatised in Tasmania, in the Derwent; but if such report be true, success will only be temporary, as such forced productions are 'ultra leges naturæ' and never permanent. They die out; 'Man can only assist nature, she will not be forced.'

The common salmon, the 'salar,' the best known and the most delicate, will not endure a high temperature, either in rivers or in the ocean; but there is an inferior variety, the *salmo hucho*, found in the rivers of the Mediterranean, and said to exist on the coasts of Australia, and this variety may also be found on the coasts of New Zealand.

But while the absence of fish is a marked feature of the rivers of the interior of New Zealand, the sea on its coasts abounds with them; and the harbours, as well as the numerous bays and estuaries which in some places almost intersect the country, literally swarm with fishes of choice variety and delicious quality. Oysters also are found in the greatest abundance. The establishment of fisheries will soon

may have some influence in diminishing the number of fishes in the rivers and streams, as eels are notorious for plundering and eating the spawn of all kinds of fish.

attract attention, and will reward the labour of those who are enterprising enough to engage in it.

Whaling stations, or shore fisheries, were at an early period established on the coasts and estuaries, and they were formerly a source of great wealth; but for many years, from the indiscriminate slaughter of both the dam and young whales, the produce of oil and bone from such sources has been extremely limited, and, in consequence, shore fisheries have been nearly abandoned. In Cook's Strait, and especially towards the southern extremity of the South Island, seals were found at an early period in immense numbers; but since these districts were settled, the seal appears to have been nearly exterminated, and has almost entirely disappeared.

The forests of New Zealand are magnificent, and the traveller, in his tour through the country, from some elevated spot in his journey often observes a sea of dense forest verdure, covering the hills and valleys and stretching boundlessly away on every side; the foliage diversified with every tint and shade of colour which the everlasting evergreen is capable of displaying: the dark green and glossy leaves of the karaka tree contrasting with the lighter shade and fairer aspect of the yellow kowhai; and the unvarying hue of the unfading evergreen is occasionally relieved by the luxuriant scarlet flowers that are grouped in clusters amongst the green and silvery foliage which bedecks the crooked stems and broad branches of the magnificent pohutukawa; while here and there appears some noble tree conspicuous for its great height and size, having its lofty branches gathered together high in the air, and elevated far above the level of the surrounding forest scenery, like the feudal

castle of some proud baron of the middle ages overlooking its sylvan domain. This vast and boundless landscape of tree and foliage is distinguished for its sublimity and beauty, as well as for an aspect of profound repose often prevailing in these woodland solitudes, at times so calm that not a leaf is stirring.

Occasionally, however, when the wind blows, and the increasing gale freshens into tempest, sweeping the hills and valleys, and bursts with fury on the unprotected forests, then this scene of tranquillity and repose is changed into uproar and tumult; and the sea of verdure, lately so serene and placid, is now seen in wild commotion, waving and agitated like the surface of a lake in a storm, while the sound of the rushing wind, mingled with the crash and roar of falling trees, resembles the peals of distant thunder.

In some places the evergreen trees are interwoven and matted together with wild vines and supple-jack in such a manner as to present the appearance of a wall of forest verdure; and the thickets of shrubs and wild flowers are so dense in some parts as to be altogether impenetrable.

The beauty of the ornamental trees and shrubs cannot be excelled, and their name is legion; they are all evergreen, and many of them in season are covered with flowers, but these gems are seldom seen, except by a few people, as they are yet only found in the forests and copses. No lawn or pleasure ground should, however, be viewed as complete without the red and yellow kowhai, the pohutukawa, karaka, fern tree, cabbage palm, and phormium tenax, which is a beautiful plant in bloom. These trees and plants cannot be surpassed for beauty or variety in any

country. The forest trees are of infinite variety, many of them growing to a great height, producing timber of excellent quality, well adapted for ship-building and house architecture as well as supplying the best material for furniture and cabinet work-manship. The chief timber trees are coniferous, but there is only one true pine among them, the (Dammara australis) kauri, the monarch of the New Zealand forests, growing in some instances nearly 200 feet high. Before modern science had introduced metal masts in ship-building, the kauri spars of New Zealand were in great demand for the British Navy. The timber trade of the colony, especially in the province of Auckland, is still, however, of immense and growing importance, affording employment to a large population, and maintaining a numerous fleet of small coasting vessels.

Formerly immense forests of kauri (Dammara australis) covered the greatest portion of the northern part of the North Island, which in the course of time have been to a great extent destroyed by fire, or have disappeared from natural decay, while the resin or gum of the trees in these forests is alleged, as the trees have been consumed or have decayed from period to period, to have sunk and become buried in the ground under the vegetation of successive ages, where it has remained, and is now dug up in large quantities. This material has become an important article of trade, and for some years has been in great demand as a varnish, and is esteemed almost equal in value to copal, extreme fine quality fetching as much as 120*l.* to 150*l.* per ton in the London market. For many years the kauri gum trade has been one of the most considerable and

prosperous of the local industries in the north, and as a source of wealth little inferior to a gold field. A large native population are employed in digging gum, who are, from their indigenous habits, pursuits, and local knowledge, very expert in perceiving where this hidden wealth is to be obtained, and are more dexterous than the colonists in raising it out of the ground. A royalty of 2*l.* per ton is frequently given for permission to dig for gum on private property, and large tracts of land, of a very inferior description as to quality of soil, are now rendered valuable from the quantity of gum which they are supposed to contain. The quantity taken out of the ground in many places is so great as to appear almost incredible, and some of the specimens are beautifully transparent, and in colour like amber. Except to a very limited extent in making small ornaments, the gum at present is not used for any purpose in the colony, and is only valuable as an article of export. The quantity exported from time to time, for so many years, is so large as to create an impression of mystery about it, and the Maories, who are fond of the marvellous, narrate that the sap or gum of the kauri is produced in such abundance that it descends annually in a liquid state under the bark of the healthy living tree, and escaping through the roots is lodged in the earth, where it soon undergoes a change, and is by the action of the cold condensed into gum. In this way the Maories assert that a continual supply of gum is in progress of formation, which can never be exhausted until the forests cease to exist. This Maori theory as to the large quantity and source of the gum, is

confirmed by many of the European woodsmen of experience engaged in the timber and gum trade; but although it is maintained as correct by plain practical people, I am not aware that it is supported by men of science. Dr. Hector, the Government geologist, whose opinions on such matters are entitled to weight, thinks that the gum is the produce of forests of a remote and former age, and is not the gum of the kauri.

According to the Maori theory, the kauri forests of New Zealand would be of immense value. It is no exaggeration to state that there are five millions of kauri trees growing in a healthy condition, and each tree on an average would produce annually two pounds weight of gum, which would be 5,000 tons collectively, and valued at 50*l.* per ton would amount to 250,000*l.*—without any cost of labour or investment of capital on the part of the colonists, and without in any way exhausting the source whence such almost boundless wealth is derived.

The phormium tenax is the plant which furnishes the New Zealand flax, so remarkable for the strength or tenacity of fibre. In this respect it excels all other vegetable productions of the kind.[1] The flax of this plant has been in universal use among the natives from time immemorial, and was formerly regarded by them with a feeling bordering on veneration, as it was the only indigenous produc-

[1] The tenacity of several kinds of woody fibres as contrasted with silk, is given as follows by De Candolle, 'Physiological,' vol. ii. p. 956 :

Silk supports a weight of	. . . . .	34
New Zealand Flax	„	23½
Common Hemp	„	16⅓
Common Flax	„	11¾
Pita Flax	„	7

tion available for clothing for them; as well as being adapted for every household purpose, and of daily use in every occupation. They were therefore constantly employed, especially the women, in making it into ropes, sails, cables, fishing nets, and tackle, as well as rugs, mats, satchels, &c., &c.

Some of the mats and satchels are beautiful, and soft and glossy as silk. It is an indigenous plant, and peculiar to New Zealand; it seems adapted for every description of soil, either moist or dry, as it thrives on the tops of hills, as well as low down in the valleys, and looks fresh and vigorous even in swamps—growing in the sand, growing everywhere, is this hardy, vigorous flax. In every part of the country it is found in abundance, and of all our colonial productions, it can, in the shortest time, and with the least employment of capital and labour, be converted not only into an article of immediate and universal domestic use, but as a commodity of export.

It is equally adapted to the condition of the humble and industrious settler, with his fifty or one hundred pounds, as it is to the capitalist with his ten thousand. As the supply of the raw material is inexhaustible, and the demand for the manufactured article fortunately likewise unlimited, no danger is to be apprehended of overstocking the market; and as daily experience proves that the price and demand will increase with the quantity and quality produced, it will therefore continue to increase in quantity and improve in quality from year to year, until eventually it will form a source of no end of wealth.

The Parliamentary papers give the following as

the returns showing the progressive export of flax ('phormium tenax'): In 1865 only 15 bales were exported; in 1869 the number of bales was 12,162; in 1870, 32,820, the value of which is estimated at 132,578*l*.

Flax farms will in a short time become as fashionable and attractive as sheep-walks in the colony, and as the occupation of superintending a flax plantation and manufactory is not only pleasant and agreeable, but highly profitable, a large amount of capital will be invested in the trade; while at the same time healthy employment will be furnished for a numerous population. No other local industry is calculated to raise the country into wealth and importance in so rapid a manner as the cultivation, manufacture, and export of flax.

The phormium tenax when in bloom is beautiful, and highly ornamental to a lawn or pleasure-ground, and indeed to any landscape. At first sight it might be taken for a very large and flourishing *Fleur-de-lis*, as in appearance it resembles that favourite and well-known plant. The saccharine fluid obtained from the flowers is much prized by the natives, who, in travelling, have frequent recourse to it in order to soothe their spirits, as well as quench their thirst. In some situations it grows as a bush upwards of seven feet high, and twenty feet in circumference, with numerous sword-shaped leaves; the Maories, as well as the colonists, when employed in the fields or on a journey, if overtaken by a shower or squall, take to the cover of a flax-bush for shelter.

Captain Cook has narrated in his interesting sketch of the country, that he found a scarcity of

indigenous esculent productions; only three kinds were cultivated in his time, viz., the kumera, or sweet potato; the taro; and a species of gourd, the hue; but neither fruit nor grain of any kind was observed by him. Before his departure, on his second visit in 1773, he gave some potatoes to the natives, and showed them how they should be planted, and when he revisited the country in 1777, he found the quality greatly improved, from the change of soil and climate. On his departure he left a variety of vegetable seeds, which grew and increased rapidly, and, before the arrival of the missionaries, vegetables of various kinds were found growing in many places, the produce of the seeds left by Cook.

In the sheltered spots towards the northern extremity of the North Island some tropical fruits are produced in the open air, and the orange, pine-apple, and banana, although not ripening to perfection, are yet grown and arrive at some maturity; while peaches, figs, and melons, not only grow unsheltered, but are produced in the greatest abundance, and in the highest perfection. The grape grows well, and, with a little more experience in vine-growing, every settler may have his vineyard, and, in reality, may sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree. The apple, pear, and plum grow as well as in any part of Europe or America, while the cherry and strawberry are as fine as they are in England.

In the south the currant, raspberry and gooseberry as well as all fruits of that description, thrive and do well; vegetables of all sorts grow in the greatest abundance: celery, cauliflower, peas, asparagus, lettuce, artichokes, and potatoes are brought every morning to market, and nothing is wanting

of this kind. The kumera or sweet potato is grown only by the Maories, but is highly esteemed by both races, while tropical fruits of every description are obtained from the neighbouring islands of the South Seas: the orange, pine-apple, and banana appear daily for sale in our markets, all the year round.

The favourite flowers of England, the rose, honeysuckle, mignonette, daffodil, lavender, marigold, and foxglove appear in the greatest luxuriance, and such ornamental trees and shrubs as the weeping willow, laburnum, lauristina, hawthorn, bay tree, cypress and walnut, are to be seen in perfection, while the oak, the ash, and the holly and ivy, grow as well as they do in Old England.

The African or Cape oak and a particular kind of the English elm are the best description of deciduous trees for lawns and pleasure-grounds, as they become in a few years, from rapid growth, very handsome and ornamental.

The soil and climate are extremely favourable for the production of all kinds of grain and cereals; wheat, barley and oats are not only grown to any extent as to quantity, but are of the finest quality. In the northern part of the North Island maize grows abundantly, and in perfection; the beet is unrivalled, and even the tobacco of New Zealand is by no means inferior, and when greater experience is acquired in the method of preparing it for the market, it will become an important article of colonial production.

Before New Zealand became a British colony, the missionaries and traders had imported sheep and cattle, and the quality of the wool grown in the country was highly appreciated, resembling in its

texture and length of staple the finer class of German wools, while the weight of fleece was equal to, if not greater, than the average clip grown from the same class of sheep in Australia. In the early days of the Government settlements in the north, the colonists imported and reared sheep as much for the production of mutton, as for the growth of wool; but in the south, from the comparatively more open character of the country, and the abundance of indigenous pastures, large flocks were introduced expressly for the growth of wool; towards the close of the year 1846, sheep began to be imported largely from Australia by Sir Charles Clifford amongst others, who for many years subsequently was the largest and most successful wool-grower in the colony. In the first instance, such pastoral pursuits were confined to the southern portion of the North Island; but as one settlement after another was founded in the southern, it soon surpassed the northern not only as a pastoral country but in the production of grain, at least in quantity if not in quality. The rapid increase of sheep, and growth of wool, in all parts of the colony, north as well as south, are truly marvellous. The wool exported in 1860 amounted in weight to 6,665,880 lbs., which had increased in 1870 to 37,774,498 lbs.; in the year 1858, the total number of sheep in the colony was 1,500,000; while in 1871 they had increased to upwards of 9,700,000; and one gentleman alone, Mr. Campbell, is now the owner of flocks numbering 500,000. Many colonists are in possession of the fee simple of from 20,000 to 50,000 acres of land, besides holding squatting leases of territory, amounting in some instances to 500,000 acres. The cattle, which in the year 1858

amounted in round numbers to 137,000, had increased in 1871 to upwards of 436,000; the number of horses, which in 1858 was only 14,000, had risen to over 81,000 in 1871.

The total population, European and native, is now about 300,000, while the total number of sheep cannot be estimated at less than upwards of 10,000,000, or at the rate of thirty-three to every man, woman, and child in the colony. In Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion of the number of sheep to the population will not exceed one and a quarter to each inhabitant. But it is not only by its capacity for feeding sheep, and growing wool, that New Zealand is distinguished. It possesses likewise a fertile soil and genial climate, capable of maintaining and supporting a dense population as numerous as that of the British Isles, while its latent resources, in mines of gold, silver, copper, iron and coal, as well as the abundance of its indigenous and exotic productions, as yet only partially developed, render it, in the materials of wealth, and elements of prosperity, equal to any country in the world.

Value of imports, 1870, 4,639,015*l*; exports, 1870, 4,822,756*l*.

The principal exports (1870) are:—

Gold	£2,163,910	Barley	£21,525
Wool	1,703,944	Butter and cheese	22,322
Gum, Kauri	175,074	Sawn-timber, logs, &c.	18,323
Flax	132,578	Sheep	16,459
Tallow	75,583	Meats, preserved	14,108
Wheat	71,851	Silver	11,380
Oats	44,195	Oil	10,749

Immediately after New Zealand became a British colony, numerous settlements were formed at remote

and distant points: in the north by the Government, in the south by the New Zealand Company, and subsequently by the Otago and Canterbury Associations. Consequently, when constitutional government was introduced in 1853, these remote and distant settlements were erected into provinces, possessing extensive powers of self-government, with administrative and executive functions, and, allowing for the condition of the different ages, bore some resemblance to the 'Saxon Heptarchy.'

This system of government was therefore isolated and fragmentary. A gulf, or a belt of almost impassable country, intervening and separating one settlement from another, all communication between the neighbouring provinces was thus rendered difficult and tedious; and often also unsafe, from the line of route being intersected by numerous deep and rapid-running streams. Such a system of government under the circumstances was not only necessary, but well adapted for developing the resources of the country at that early period, although entailing a large expenditure from its duplicate character—colonial and provincial, that is, central and local—in each province.

There are eight provinces, besides the county of Westland; and the local affairs of each are managed by a superintendent, with a provincial council. The population appears from the census of 1872 to be as follows:

	European	Native	Total	
Auckland Province . . .	64,337	23,227	87,564	
Taranaki „ . . .	4,599	2,355	6,954	
Wellington „ . . .	25,015	5,322	30,337	
Hawke's Bay „ . . .	6,212	3,102	9,314	
Total for North Island . .	100,163	34,006		134,169
Nelson Province . . .	23,062	483	23,545	
Marlborough „ . . .	5,384	369	5,753	
Canterbury „ . . .	48,906	607	49,513	
Otago „ . . .	73,956	826	74,782	
Westland County . . .	15,381	68	15,449	
Total for South Island . .	166,689	2,353		169,042
Totals for the Colony . . .	266,852	36,359		303,211

As the provinces are well represented in the General Assembly, a federal or provincial party has grown up and become formidable. It includes some men of weight, who control and modify the measures of the Government by their votes and influence, thereby rendering it expedient, as part of the policy of every Ministry, either to divide and rule this party, or conciliate their support and influence by introducing measures granting them large supplies and subsidies. Under such a system, there is the danger to be apprehended that the colony may sink under the petty rule of a succession of small provincial men, whose object is to make the federal system perpetual, as no Ministry could stand a fortnight, without submitting to their demands. The great question therefore which agitates and distracts the colony at the present time, is, whether the federal or national system of government is to prevail.

But since safe, easy and rapid communication by sea and land has been established, and the entire colony intersected by telegraph-lines from one extremity to the other, and as the whole extent of territory is

less than that of the United Kingdom and Ireland, an impression now prevails that the colony has outgrown the age of the 'Saxon Heptarchy;' and that this system of government, having done its work, should now rest from its labours, and a system of administration more in harmony with the spirit of the age take its place. Two provinces, it is alleged, one consisting of the North, and the other of the South Island, instead of the nine at present existing, would be ample for all provincial administration, while the governor-in-chief could still remain at Wellington with his staff of officials, to guide and direct the affairs of the colony, and the General Assembly could meet there every year.

In Australia, the English principle of centralisation, or unity of government for each colony, is the fundamental rule. In New Zealand the American element of provincial or State governments in addition to the central has been introduced. The two systems may therefore be said to be on trial in Australia and New Zealand. Geographical position, combined with extent of territory, has force and influence in determining the system best adapted for securing the future welfare, as well as that harmony of action necessary for the good government of the respective countries. Australia, in territorial extent, is vast and continental; New Zealand limited and insular. The federation of the Australian colonies into something like the United States of America, or the Dominion of Canada, will undoubtedly be the legitimate and natural result. But New Zealand, like England, from inevitable circumstances must remain for ever a separate, distinct, and independent nation. While from the

limited extent of its territory, the federal or provincial governments, as population increases and facilities of communication are multiplied, will, like the 'Saxon Heptarchy,' gradually disappear, and be replaced by local administrations, similar to the borough municipalities and county governments of England.

Some of the New Zealand statesmen and leading men in party politics are possessed of considerable abilities, but their talents are more precocious than mature, and they are more remarkable for their success as parliamentary tacticians than distinguished for sagacity and sound statesmanlike views. Consequently, the result has been achieved that a debt of 10,000,000*l.* sterling already overweights the colony; and in the race for distinction among the group of Australasian colonies, New Zealand is heavily handicapped. Now, although this amount of debt is a heavy burden, it is not overwhelming with an annual revenue of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, increasing every year; still, it is a heavy tax on the resources and energies of 266,000 colonists, however prosperous, elastic and youthful they may be.

The formation of railroads in the colony is without doubt a legitimate undertaking on the part of the Government, so long as the debt is kept within reasonable and safe limits, but it ceases to be so when such objects can only be accomplished at the risk of involving the colony in debt to an amount beyond its financial powers.

England has a debt of 792,000,000*l.*, with annual interest to pay of 26,800,000*l.*, imposing a liability on the inhabitants of 24*l.* per head for the debt, with an annual assessment of 16*s.* per head for interest;

while New Zealand has a debt of 10,000,000*l.* (with a few millions more in perspective), and annual interest to pay of 600,000*l.*, subjecting the colonists to a liability of 37*l.* per head for the debt, with an annual assessment of 2*l.* 5*s.* per head for interest. Taking the population of Great Britain and Ireland at 32,000,000, and the revenue at 75,000,000*l.*, we find a taxation levied upon the inhabitants of 2*l.* 7*s.* per head; but New Zealand, with its 266,000 colonists and 1,000,000*l.* sterling of revenue, exhibits a burden of taxation exacted from the colonists of 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per head, or 50 per cent. greater than is borne in England, while the local rates of the new colony keep pace with those in the old country. Moreover, the New Zealand debt weighs more heavily upon the colony than the National Debt upon England, because the interest in the one case is payable out of the colony, while in the other it is simply a transfer of a balance from one account to another, and although a debt at the Treasury it is a credit to the country. This financial condition of the colony, although not of a character to create alarm, is yet such as to excite reasonable apprehensions for its future welfare, as the system of borrowing large sums every year will inevitably impair its credit, and subject the colonists to a load of taxation, if not oppressive, at least sufficient to retard the progressive prosperity of the country.

It may, however, be hoped that some New Zealand Cavour or Bismarck will arise, gifted with ability and resolution, as well as possessed of the power, to roll up the New Zealand federation of provinces, unite and exalt them into a nation, and likewise gather together its fragmentary and rope-of-sand governments into a practical, economical and

united system of administration, controlling its financial affairs within reasonable and safe limits, as well as guiding its destinies, so that it may become a prosperous, great and powerful country.

During the last fifteen years, emigration from the British Isles to New Zealand, under Government administration, has gradually declined, and the difficulties experienced in obtaining a good class of people to emigrate are increasing every year. The present system of emigration to that colony appears to have exhausted itself, and the plan introduced some twenty-five or thirty years since is now found to be unsuitable to the altered condition of the labouring and emigrating population of the mother country. The intelligence, condition and aspirations of the labouring people of the United Kingdom have, during the last quarter of a century, made great progress, and are still advancing rapidly, while the New Zealand system of emigration has remained stationary, and has failed in its object simply because it is not in harmony with the spirit of the age. A new system must therefore be introduced more in unison with the existing state of things, or emigration from the British Isles to that colony on a scale worthy of consideration must cease altogether. As an example of the advanced state of the labouring population, take the improved condition of the British Infantry soldier of the present day. He receives board, lodging, clothes, education and medical attendance gratis, with a shilling a day in hard money as pay, besides a certain prospect of promotion, as well as a pension, if steady, orderly and well conducted. This is without doubt a comfortable provision for a young man belonging to the class of unskilled artisans, and many would

prefer such sure and substantial comforts to the risks and vicissitudes incidental to the lot of an emigrant in a far distant colony. The plan of borrowing large funds, in order to force or stimulate emigration by providing passages for emigrants to New Zealand of an inferior class, without any tie or hold on them to remain in that country after their arrival, is now considered to be injudicious, and from experience found to be a delusion. The people of that class, from the great attractions of the numerous gold fields in all the Australasian colonies, as well as from the excitement produced as new fields are developed, and adventures of various kinds introduced, have become to a great extent a floating population, constantly roaming from colony to colony, without any fixed home, allured from one place to another by every fresh gold discovery, or hurrying where the highest wages for a time prevail.

The great distance of New Zealand from the mother country is by many deemed so objectionable that intelligent and self-reliant men will not separate themselves from the ties of friends and country, and go there to be merely servants and labourers to other people. They say, if we go to that distant country, we must be our own masters, to secure a home, cultivate our own land, and to toil for ourselves, and not for others.

The struggle between capital and labour has extended even to New Zealand, and the only way to secure a respectable and successful stream of emigration to its shores is to make residence there sufficiently attractive. A large portion of the waste lands of the colony are worth, on an average, from ten to twenty shillings an acre, but the value of these

lands would be enhanced tenfold by the introduction of a respectable, industrious and settled population, and the only method of securing such a class of people is by establishing the free grant system of land. This system is less expensive than the existing arrangements for promoting emigration, and far more effective. The cost of the large staff, employed at present—consisting of commissioners, officials, and the numerous agents in England and in the colony—at an enormous expense, would be saved, as well as the necessity of borrowing large funds for emigration expenditure. Under a judicious free grant system in land, with every alternate section of 100 acres open for selection, a large territory would rapidly be peopled, and the reserved sections would, from the enhanced value acquired by the neighbouring lots being peopled and cultivated, be actually of far greater value than the whole without population, or unsubdued to the uses of man. In this manner a large population of a superior class would in a very short time be introduced without borrowing large funds, or maintaining a large and expensive staff, while the grand principle of colonisation would be achieved, of not parting with the land without peopling it. The class of men who would be induced to emigrate on such terms would be those who had risen by industry and perseverance to be small capitalists, or who had become so by inheritance. Such a class of men, self-reliant and enterprising, are the right sort for a country like New Zealand, and would be available as good workmen in the harvest and sheep-shearing periods.

Under the present system of emigration, large funds have been borrowed and expended, and the fee simple of large territories has been alienated and acquired

by a few people, at a price seldom higher than five shillings per acre, without achieving the object of legitimate colonisation—that is, without profiting the country. This is the evil to be apprehended from the present system, which is at variance with sound principles of administration of colonial lands, and injurious to the country. The maladministration of colonial lands is a great evil, conspicuous in many of the provinces of New Zealand; and the love for grasping territory, so characteristic of our race, has assumed there formidable dimensions. This injudicious system was greatly encouraged by a previous governor during his régime, and all the available land in the province of Nelson was in his time alienated and acquired by a few people, and thus a permanent injury was inflicted on that fertile and beautiful district.

The territorial extent of New Zealand is limited when compared with the colonies in Australia, and although its superficial area is nearly as large as the colony of Victoria, the extent of its available land for settlement is comparatively much less than in that highly favoured colony.

Under such circumstances—in all measures suggested for the administration of its colonial lands, the maxim founded on experience, of not parting with the land without peopling it, ought to be strictly observed.

A sketch of New Zealand, however brief, would be imperfect without some description of the character and condition of the aboriginal inhabitants, as they occupy a very interesting and important place in the history of the country.

The aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand are

evidently of Malay extraction, but in this instance the original type of this race has been modified and improved physically and mentally by the fine and bracing climate of that country. The Maories invariably narrate that the race from which they are descended arrived in New Zealand about 500 years ago from the Hawaian or Sandwich Islands, and this tradition is corroborated by such an array of circumstances as to justify us in accepting it as an authentic historical event. The Hawaian or Sandwich Islands are distant 3,900 miles from New Zealand, but the aboriginal inhabitants of the two island groups at the present day are similar in race, language and character. People who have made the voyage from New Zealand to those islands have observed that the winds, nearly all the year round, prevail in a direction extremely favourable for making a passage from thence to New Zealand. It appears highly probable, however, that the Maories did not emigrate from choice, but from necessity, and were from time to time either defeated by enemies or driven away from their homes by storms and tempests beyond the hope of returning. Many of the native canoes are large enough to contain forty or fifty people, and as these islanders never go to sea unprovided with cooking apparatus and fuel, as well as fishing tackle, they could therefore, in making the voyage in fine weather, provide themselves with food by fishing from day to day. Under such circumstances, a voyage from Hawaii to New Zealand, in the comparatively smooth waters of the Pacific Ocean, is not only possible but quite practicable.[1]

[1] Captain Bligh was cast adrift in an open boat with nineteen men by the mutineers of the 'Bounty,' and reached Java, a distance of 4,000

Two distinct types of race are to be found among the Maories. The great majority are, however, of the comparatively fair-skinned and straight-haired Polynesian stock inhabiting the Hawaian group, Tahiti, Marquesas, Tonga Isles and Navigator Islands. These islands, as well as New Zealand, are all of volcanic formation, and the inhabitants similar in race, language and character, and have been for some time distinguished as Polynesians; while the Maories of the other type are small in size, few in number, and not often seen in New Zealand, but in lineage belong to the black curly-haired and dark-skinned Papuan stock, which has become in some way amalgamated with the former, especially in the islands bordering on the Papuan group, and these, by way of distinction, have recently been designated Melanesians. There is a Maori tradition that a race similar to the Melanesians were partly in possession of New Zealand prior to the period of the Hawaian immigration, but that, being an inferior people, they were easily dispossessed or partially exterminated on the arrival of the more powerful Polynesians, who are intellectually and physically the finest aboriginal race in the South Sea Islands.

From the period of Cook's visits, the aboriginal New Zealanders, or Maories, as they call themselves, have been viewed as a savage and barbarous race, and appear to have lived in a state of constant and ferocious tribal warfare. From this cause, their numbers from that time seem to have decreased, especially after the introduction of fire-arms; and

miles from where he had been deported. Such a voyage could not have been accomplished in an open boat in any other sea than the Pacific.

when New Zealand became a British colony, the aborigines could not at the highest estimate have exceeded in number 100,000.

The appearance of a New Zealand chief is prepossessing. Endowed with a tall figure, athletic and powerful, an open unembarrassed demeanour, and gifted with a superior and vigorous intellect, he might well be viewed, when attired in his native costume, as the representative of freedom and independence. The intelligence displayed by the Maories in general, respecting the history and condition of their country, indicates habits of observation and reflection altogether unusual and unexpected in a savage nation. From tradition they possess a perfect knowledge of the important events, distinguished characters, and remarkable exploits connected with their race since their arrival in New Zealand about 500 years ago. A Maori will narrate his pedigree in an unbroken line from generation to generation in the genuine spirit of heraldry, and will recite the achievements of his ancestors with a strong feeling of nationality. In the practical knowledge of natural history they are no less proficient. Every mountain, valley and river, as well as every tree, plant and flower, has a descriptive name; the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea, and the beasts of the field, have all characteristic appellations, while the habits and distinguishing peculiarities of each are described with precision. On such subjects a Maori will converse with as much intelligence and familiarity as the educated gentleman of a civilised country. The gift of fluent speech is not denied to them, and they will sit in groups round their evening camp fires, discussing

the events of the day with delight and animation; and their chiefs and orators, when interested in any important question, will address an assembly for an hour or two, and debate every point under consideration in an eloquent and excited manner. Prior to our settlement in the country they had no written language, but the rapidity and almost intuitive manner in which their vigorous and active minds grasped the elementary principles necessary in using our alphabet, with the view of expressing their thoughts and recording their traditions in writing, were quite marvellous. In a very short time the great majority of them learned to read and write their own language. Nevertheless, they are still in the condition of a people whose minds are shaded with ignorance, and enveloped in the twilight of superstition, as well as swayed by 'the 'phantasmagoria' of powerful imagination. Every hill is therefore invested with mystery, and has its legend; every river its traditional story, and every woodland its haunted spirit.

All who have travelled and lived among them can, nowever, testify from experience that they have always found them, whether in the forests, in their canoes, or around their evening camp fires, not only faithful allies but intelligent companions.

The Maories assert that all their local and tribal wars have originated about women and land. The women, however, are too often reduced to the condition of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' and in many instances their appearance indicates the hardships which they have experienced; but some of the daughters of the chiefs are handsome and beautiful, with small delicate hands and feet, and

complexions only a shade darker than the women of the south of Europe. Except those of the highest rank, the women as a rule are, however, subjected to incessant and harassing toil; and among the Maories there is that disposition to throw on the weaker sex the heaviest part of manual labour which is the characteristic of savages.

Although we may smile at the Maori king movement, it originated in a noble and natural desire, and was an expiring effort, not to throw off the supremacy of England, but to unite and maintain their race. As the poor Maories could not fail to observe that the colonists were busily engaged in the administration of their own affairs, from which they were entirely excluded, and in their own beloved land, where they formerly held undisputed sway, and were viewed as an alien and inferior class, it was therefore hardly to be expected that the natives, intelligent, brave and high spirited, would remain satisfied with such a neglected and degraded condition. After mature reflection, they, not without reasonable and justifiable claims, resolved to imitate the colonists and have a government of their own, in order to preserve their race from utter extinction, and their lands from being altogether lost and irrevocably alienated. The object was laudable and worthy of encouragement, and advantage might have been taken of this desire for self-government to guide and direct its course into legitimate channels, leading to practical measures and satisfactory results.

A number of them now hold seats in the General Assembly, and have therefore a voice in the government of the country; and on a late occasion they

contributed by their votes to turn out of office, on a motion of want of confidence, a Ministry whom they considered hostile to their race. Two of them, lately introduced into the Cabinet, aid the Ministry by expressing their views on all important questions in the regulation of native affairs. They are perhaps not gifted as we are in diplomacy, but if the peace, prosperity and good government of the country can be secured in this manner, it is a simple and peaceful achievement. In every War Office list of the British army that is now published, there are to be found the names of several Maori chiefs among the officers of the colonial forces. They are still the largest owners of territory in the country, and in the Napier district they have leased their grass-lands to the squatters at a rental of 26,000*l.* a-year.

The simple facts that the natives of New Zealand, during the last ten years, often resisted successfully our forces in the battle-field, and by the votes of their representatives in the Assembly have now turned a Government out of office, are very interesting. They will no doubt view it as something like retributive justice, that the chief of that political party which began the Great War in 1860 without a casus belli was defeated by their votes in the Assembly in 1872.

This is a practical and peaceful solution of the problem, after so much fighting and so great a sacrifice in blood and treasure for so many years, as well as a great triumph in the cause of civilisation and humanity.

There are no reasonable grounds for concluding that the Maories living in peace with the English colonists, and in harmony with the operation of

natural laws, are inevitably a doomed race, although they are apparently fast passing away, and, from their reduced numbers, have already ceased to be formidable. Many of the chiefs, as well as most of the young men, the flower of the Maori population, some of them noble fellows, were cut off during the Great War which they had the spirit and endurance to maintain for ten years against British troops in overwhelming numbers, equipped with all the weapons which modern science could suggest, and although conquered they were never entirely subdued. But irrespective of the calamities of war, which decimated them year by year, other circumstances have likewise contributed to accelerate their decay; and a death-rate among them out of all proportion when compared with the births has been unmistakably revealed by the census returns.

At the settlement of the country as a British colony in the year 1840, the native population, according to the best information, was estimated at 100,000; but allow them at that period to have been only 80,000. The first census was taken in the year 1856, when their number was found to be 53,700; and they are now reduced, as appears from the last census in 1872, to 36,359. In a few years, decreasing at this rate, unless some ameliorating influences suspend this wearing away, they will disappear altogether, and the fair territory which they owned and ruled will contain few, if any, of them, and the land that once knew them shall know them no more.

Great efforts are now, however, made by themselves as well as by the Government to improve their condition and arrest their decay, and it is to be hoped that

under the present system of administering native affairs, such attempts may be successful, and the loyal, brave and intelligent Maori race, so intimately associated and identified with many of the important events in the history of the country, may not only be perpetuated but numerically increased, and continue to be an integral portion of the population of New Zealand; while the sympathy and consideration which we have manifested for the influences which have shaped and shaded their character and condition, as well as the regard entertained for the circumstances which united their destiny to ours, are highly honourable to British justice and humanity.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER II.

New Zealand not unknown to the early Portuguese Navigators—New Zealand discovered by Tasman, 1642—Tasman named the Point he first sighted Cape Maria Van Diemen — Tasman's Vessels anchor in Massacre Bay — Some of Tasman's People murdered by the Natives — New Zealand neglected by the Dutch—New Zealand visited by Cook in 1769—Public opinion in England in favour of New Zealand being made a British Colony—Captain Cook recommends New South Wales to be made a Settlement for Convicted Criminals—Penal Settlement founded at Port Jackson—The Rev. Samuel Marsden—Adventurers from the Settlement at Port Jackson make frequent Trading and Sealing Expeditions to New Zealand—The New Zealanders are induced to visit the English Settlement at Port Jackson—Rev. Mr. Marsden visits New Zealand—Arrival of the Church of England Missionaries in New Zealand—Missionary Life in New Zealand — The Missionaries explored the Country, and acquired important Information respecting the Condition of the Inhabitants, as well as a Knowledge of its Natural History—Expeditions into the Interior of the Country became fashionable at a subsequent period — The Venerable Archdeacon Henry Williams — The Bishop of Waipu — The trading Adventurers establish trading Ports at different places—William IV. gave the Natives a national Flag and appointed a Commissioner to reside among them—Adventurers from all parts of the World flock to New Zealand—Formation of the New Zealand Company — Edward Gibbon Wakefield the guiding Spirit of the Company — The British Government coerced by the Company to assume the sovereignty of New Zealand — New Zealand proclaimed a British Colony — The French Government found a Settlement in New Zealand—Race betwixt England and France for the sovereignty of the South Island — Captain Owen Stanley, R.N. — The French Settlement at Akaroa.

THERE is an obscure tradition, and likewise fragmentary evidence still existing, which go far towards establishing the belief that New Zealand was not unknown to the early Portuguese navigators, prior to the period of its generally reputed discovery. But as far as authentic history extends, nothing was known respecting this group of islands until their discovery by Captain Abel Janssen Tasman about the middle of the seventeenth century. Tasman was a bold and adventurous Dutch sailor, and had been appointed to the command of a squadron despatched on a voyage of discovery to the South Pacific Ocean, at that time an unknown and unexplored region.

This expedition was projected and equipped by Antonio Van Diemen, the Dutch Governor of Java, who appears to have been offended with Tasman for presuming, without his knowledge or authority, to have fallen in love with his daughter, the beautiful Maria Van Diemen, and resorted to this method of deportation in order to exile him from the country which he governed, as well as to break off the attachment existing between him and his daughter. He sailed from Batavia in the year 1642; and as the vessels selected for the expedition were designedly old and shattered, he was regarded as a devoted man, bound on some dark and desperate enterprise, and his return from such a voyage was neither intended nor expected. Tasman, however, seems to have possessed both skill and enterprise as a navigator, and not only distinguished himself by the importance of his discoveries, but, overcoming all the difficulties and dangers to which he was exposed, had the good fortune to return in safety, to describe the particulars of his voyage, narrate his adventures and

to claim the hand of the lady for whose sake he had perilled his life, fame and fortunes.

We are told that he discovered in this voyage the three islands situated to the north of New Zealand, called the 'Three Kings,' and gave them their name 'Drei Konig;' and when he arrived in sight of the mainland at the northern extremity of the North Island, like a dutiful son of the Church and a gallant Dutchman,

'He sighed a sigh, and he prayed a prayer;
The prayer was to his patron saint, but the sigh was for a lady fair,'

and he named the land he first sighted, 'in memoriam' of his lady love, Cape Maria Van Diemen, which to this day still bears her name, and will remain for ever an interesting memorial of this romantic incident.

Leaving Cape Maria Van Diemen on his larboard, he continued his course southwards, and after rounding many a bold promontory in its long line of coast, arrived in a placid and pleasant bay, enclosed on all sides with hills, in some places rising from the shores in picturesque and mountainous landscapes. Attracted by the aspect of security and tranquillity of this place, as well as prompted by the desire of endeavouring to obtain some information respecting the country, he was induced to indulge in repose after his voyage. He therefore dropped his anchors, and the ships rode safely on the smooth waters of this capacious and sheltered haven. Although apparently uncultivated, the country seemed to be populous, and the shores were soon crowded with inhabitants, who, collecting in groups, stood gazing in wonder at the strange visitors, although they did not venture near the ships. These people are described by Tasman as

being very tall, with hoarse and loud voices, as slightly clothed in garments which looked like matting, and in aspect in some features resembling the Japanese; but their appearance and conduct did not give any indication either of wealth or civilisation. Many of them were armed with huge clubs, and when the people who landed from the ships manifested, in a friendly way, a desire to communicate with them, they displayed great hostility, attacking and killing some of the party. Hence the place was called 'Moodeneares' Bay, and is now known as Massacre Bay. This unpropitious event created an unfavourable impression of the character and disposition of the inhabitants, and as the aspect of the country was broken, rugged and hilly, as well as covered with wild and dense vegetation, a hasty and unfavourable opinion seems to have been formed respecting it, and a low estimate entertained of its fertility and productions. In those early days of adventure and discovery, no remote and newly-discovered country was deemed valuable unless the rivers were seen rolling over golden sands, the mountains gleaming with gems and precious metals, and the groves luxuriant with spices and perfumes.

The Dutchman therefore, under such circumstances, appears to have been disappointed with the country, and attached little importance to his discovery; while beyond giving the group the name of New Zealand, his countrymen appear to have neglected and abandoned it altogether.

For more than one hundred years after Tasman's discovery it attracted little or no attention; the country remained unknown and its shores unexplored, the vast ocean that surrounded it was seldom en-

livened by the sails of a ship, or witnessed the presence of civilised man. Now and then, perhaps, the crew of some roving and suspicious-looking craft may have viewed the dim outline of its mountain ranges, or the mariners of some wandering bark, driven from its course by storms and tempests over the vast wilderness of waters in that boundless ocean, may have seen its coastline from a distance. One unfortunate vessel is supposed to have been wrecked on its shores, and the crew murdered by the inhabitants; but until the group was visited by the celebrated navigator, Captain Cook, in the year 1769, New Zealand was a land enveloped in mystery and peril, a terra incognita, and a blank on the map of the globe.

Cook, with characteristic zeal, skill, and sagacity, had their coastline roughly drawn on a chart, explored the channel which separates the North from the South Island, and named it Cook's Strait. He landed, and took possession of the country on behalf of Great Britain, being fully satisfied that it would become a favourite field not only for settlement and colonisation, but for commercial enterprise and traffic. Cook subsequently visited New Zealand in 1773 and 1777, and the glowing descriptions of the country and climate which appeared in the fascinating narrative of his voyages, created a favourable impression respecting it on all who read them.

From that time great importance was attached to its possession, and the expression of public opinion in England in favour of New Zealand being made a British colony was almost universal. Various schemes were projected with this object in view, and one of them was supported by the celebrated

American statesman and philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, who, during the American War, gave orders that Cook's squadron, despatched on a voyage of discovery, should be exempt from all attacks by the Americans. But the formidable hostility apprehended from the native inhabitants, who were represented to be very numerous, as well as extremely ferocious, delayed for a time the carrying out of the measures in contemplation for founding settlements.[1]

In the meantime, the attention of the British Government was directed by Captain Cook to the great island of New Holland, as a country, from its remoteness and separation from the rest of the world, well adapted as a place of banishment for the convicted criminals of Great Britain. The loss of the American Colonies, up to that time the place of exile of convicted felons, rendered the selection of a new and distant country for this purpose a matter of urgent necessity.

A final settlement was therefore founded in the year 1788 at Port Jackson, the future Sydney of Australia; a governor, with a staff of officers, accompanied by a party of soldiers as a guard, was sent out to maintain law and order, and conduct the affairs of the settlement. Amongst the officers was a chaplain to attend to the religious instruction of the convicts, and with their increasing numbers his duties were multiplied to such an extent as to render the appointment of an assistant necessary A young

[1] The Dutch appear to have abandoned all claim to the country by right of discovery, for at the famous Congress of Vienna, in the year 1814, England's right to New Zealand was acknowledged by the European Powers.

English clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, was selected for the office, and he arrived in the colony in the year 1793. This gentleman was subsequently destined, as the founder of the Church of England Mission in New Zealand, to exercise great influence in the affairs and condition of the native inhabitants of that country.

The settlement founded at Port Jackson created a certain amount of trade and stimulated commercial enterprise in that distant dependency, and as the hitherto unfrequented seas were found to be swarming with the sperm whale, and the coasts of some of the neighbouring islands to abound in seal, a spirit of adventure and enterprise was engendered amongst the colonists by the attraction of this undeveloped wealth, which resulted in the employment of numerous vessels in the whale fisheries of the adjoining seas, as well as in trading and sealing expeditions to the coasts of New Zealand. In such expeditions the numerous and safe harbours in these islands were convenient places of rendezvous, not only for shelter but in order to procure supplies of wood and water, and such other productions as the country afforded. In these visits, as the adventurers in the first instance were viewed with suspicion by the natives, frequent and sometimes deadly quarrels ensued; by degrees, however, a more friendly intercourse was established, which soon led to a more extended and satisfactory system of traffic betwixt the two races, till at length such was the confidence experienced on the part of the natives towards their visitors, that numbers of them were induced to accept a passage in their ships, and to visit the English settlement at Port Jackson. When the New Zealanders arrived there, they were

viewed with as much interest and curiosity by the colonists as the Ancient Britons were probably by the Roman soldiers when they visited Cæsar's camp in Gaul before he invaded their country. In this manner, Mr. Marsden first became acquainted with the New Zealanders, and began to take great interest in their welfare and condition. He formed a high and by no means an exaggerated estimate of their character. 'They are a noble race,' he writes; 'vastly superior in understanding to anything you can imagine in a savage nation,' and he invited many of them to reside with him at his hospitable parsonage near Paramatta. While on a visit to England in the year 1808, Mr. Marsden laid the foundation of the Church of England Mission to New Zealand, and the measures designed and practically carried out by him, in order to effect its successful introduction into that country, were an enterprise of such genuine philanthropy, subjecting him not only to hardships and privations, but to personal risks and dangers, that they will for ever render his name famous in that country as the apostle of Christianity; and, like Captain Cook, he will be distinguished to all posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of the native inhabitants.

Various circumstances, and, amongst others, the fearful massacre of the crew and passengers of the ship 'Boyd,' at the harbour of Whangaroa, by the natives, delayed Mr. Marsden's visit to New Zealand until January 25, 1814, when he sailed from Sydney Cove, accompanied by his friend Mr. Leddard Nicholas, and three missionaries with their wives and families, and on his arrival received a friendly welcome from the natives.

The arrival of the first missionaries in New Zealand marks an important and interesting epoch in its early history. Uncivilised man is a being almost the same in every country, and the history of the British Isles furnishes no exception to this rule. Missionaries came from Rome to convert our heathen and barbarian ancestors to Christianity, in the same manner as the missionaries from England introduced Christianity into New Zealand, who step by step instructed and partially civilised the natives, and thus paved the way to its eventual settlement as a British colony. The hearty welcome received by Mr. Marsden and his coadjutors from the natives, as well as the kind manner in which they were invited to remain and reside among them, were circumstances highly encouraging, and formed a connecting link of sympathy betwixt the two races which greatly facilitated the completion of all measures necessary for the formation of the first mission station in the country. The chief settlement was formed at the Bay of Islands, where the head-quarters of the mission still remain; but its sphere of operations was in a short time extended to all places of importance on the east coast, and where the largest native population resided, including Tauranga and Port Nicholson. In these early times, missionary life in New Zealand possessed many attractions to a devoted, intrepid, and intelligent missionary: a fine climate, picturesque scenery, and a noble race of savages, who could comprehend and appreciate the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion; while, from the high estimation in which his knowledge, piety, and wisdom were held, the missionary was exalted into a position of power, influence, and authority, which a despot

would have envied. The mission-house was usually a well-selected place of residence, convenient for wood and water, and in the vicinity of a native pah or village. A taste for landscape gardening was occasionally displayed in the manner in which the grounds were laid out. Around the house appeared a verdant lawn, skirted with copse wood, exhibiting an English partiality for turf and trees. A well-cultivated garden, producing fruit and vegetables, and displaying a few specimens of native plants, with a sprinkling of English flowers, indicated a taste for picturesque scenery and that refinement which appreciated it, on the part of the missionary; but under any circumstances, the mission station was a place of rendezvous and an object of attraction for all classes, as it possessed all the necessaries and comforts, as well as some of the luxuries, of civilised life. In those days the natives attached little or no importance to their time and labour, and their services were freely placed at the disposal of the missionary, either in building houses or cultivating their fields.

On his expeditions into the interior and to distant parts of the country, the missionary usually travelled *en prince*, being accompanied by a retinue of natives employed in carrying his tent, blankets, and opossum rug, as well as provisions; and although not assuming the character of a sportsman himself, he frequently entrusted to one of his native party the favourite fowling-piece belonging to the mission, and wild duck and wood-pigeons were an agreeable variety in his bill of fare on his journey. Travelling in this manner, a geographical knowledge of the country was obtained, and important information respecting the character and condition of its inhabitants, as well

as much of the early and valuable evidence as to its natural history. When thus wandering with them through the forests, exploring rivers in their canoes, and talking with them around their evening camp fires, the savage character and turbulent habits of the natives, from the constant fighting and feuds going on among different tribes, exposed the missionary frequently to imminent dangers; at the same time, to an intrepid and intelligent character, a man of a truly missionary spirit, such occurrences only afforded an opportunity for the display of resolution and firmness, qualities highly appreciated by all Maories, and which, when exhibited, never failed not only to restore peace among the natives, but to command their esteem and admiration.

Many years after this period, when the country had become a British colony, and all apprehensions of violence from the natives had ceased, this way of making tours into the interior of the country, accompanied by natives as guides and camp equipage bearers, was fashionable; and the writer of these pages looks back with pleasure to those early days employed in such excursions as by far the most pleasant and agreeable he ever spent in the colony.

In such rambling expeditions there was a genuine pleasure experienced in escaping from the arbitrary and conventional habits of colonial life—for the pure enjoyment, charming simplicity, and unrestrained freedom of primitive existence to be found in the interior of the country beyond the boundary line of settlement and civilisation. In those then comparatively remote places, the country, as lovely as any the sun ever shines upon, was still as nature had made it.

There was the glorious vegetation of the primeval forests, whose scenery was always attractive; the landscape radiant under the sunshine and blue sky, with its shades, lawns, rocks and waters untouched by the hand of man, and disclosing at every step in our wanderings some interesting object in natural history to attract our attention and arrest our progress; the narrow Maori pathway by swamp, stream, and woodland, required constant attention to keep our horses on their legs and our seats in the saddle; then the evening camp at sunset, with its blazing wood fire, when we sought repose, enjoying our humble fare, accompanied by the refreshing pannikin of warm tea, a delicious beverage after the fatiguing though healthful toil during the heat of the day; while the whole scene was made joyous and animated by the high spirits, talk, chaff, and intelligence of the Maories. And then concluding the day with the formal 'good-night,' addressed to our Maori companions, before turning into our little tent, with its bed of fern made cosy with the opossum rug, on which we experienced the sweetest and most refreshing slumbers, without entertaining the remotest apprehension of peril either from our companions or the neighbouring Maories, who went to sleep in groups around the fire, or under a tree, wrapped up in their blankets.

Getting up early in the morning perhaps we embarked in a canoe, on some half-explored and unknown river, with our camp equipage, including our favourite fowling-piece—everything in order, and the canoe handled with skill and dexterity by the natives, who would paddle us in our journey to the places where thousands of wild ducks were assembled at

their early morning rendezvous, on some sandbank, when we would knock over as many as would provide us with food for the day.

I remember, in one of these rambling excursions into the interior of the country, proceeding up the Waikato River in a canoe, and accompanied by a party of natives. It was a lovely autumn afternoon, a period of the year so delightful in the New Zealand climate, and as we glided along, stretched at our ease in the canoe, the natives appeared to enjoy the Italian sky, balmy air, and beauty of the landscape, as much as ourselves, and in that dreamy enjoyable condition relaxed their exertions, slackening their speed, and nearly suspended dipping their paddles leisurely in the deep, broad, and placid stream. We therefore for amusement, and at the same time in order to stimulate them into activity, made and recited verses about them and their country, to which they listened patiently for some time with grim good humour; then, consulting together for a little, they, in imitation of us, assumed the air and style of improvisators, and commenced to make verses about us by way of retaliation, at the same time increasing the speed of the canoe, and keeping time with the stroke of their paddles to their song. Such a lay did not possess, as might be expected, any claim to a high standard of ballad poetry, but I quote it as showing their intelligence and humour, as well as how easily they could imitate us, and adapt themselves to our condition, appreciate the fun, and enter into the spirit of such scenes.

THE MAORI SONG ON THE PAKIA.

Who sweeps along in swift canoe?
The Pakia, the Pakia.
And travels far the land to view?
The Rangatira Pakia.

Who climbs the mountains steep and high?
The Pakia, the Pakia.
To gaze on woodland, stream, and sky?
The Rangatira Pakia.

Who roams o'er lands by flood and fell?
The Pakia, the Pakia.
And asks the Maori will he sell?
The Rangatira Pakia.

Who wanders through the copsewood green?
The Pakia, the Pakia.
In search of rocks and wealth unseen?
The Rangatira Pakia.

Who loves to roam in village glades?
The Pakia, the Pakia.
And flirts with all the Maori maids?
The Rangatira Pakia.[1]

Among the early pioneers in New Zealand missionary enterprise there were some devoted and good men, whose minds were animated with the love of humanity, and at the risk of their lives endeavoured not only to ameliorate the condition of the natives, by imparting knowledge and the truths of religion, but also courageously maintaining their claim to

[1] In the Maori language, Pakia is stranger or colonist; and Rangatira chief or gentleman.

freedom and independence. Such a man was the late Venerable Archdeacon Henry Williams, a man of mark among the missionaries of New Zealand, who was no less conspicuous for his gentlemanlike demeanour in private life, than distinguished for intrepidity of character, firmness and administrative ability, in all transactions and negotiations with the native race. It was through his influence that the native chiefs were induced to sign the famous 'Treaty of Waitangi,' ceding the sovereignty of the islands to the Queen, and mainly by his exertions that the peaceful annexation of the country to England was achieved. His brother, the present Bishop of Waipu, is no less distinguished for his zeal and devotion as a missionary than he is personally esteemed in private life, and is, moreover, one of the most accomplished Maori scholars and philologists in the colony.

While the missionaries were employed in forming stations, instructing the natives, and exploring the country, the trading adventurers were no less active in their pursuits, and had established trading ports at the Bay of Islands, Hokianga, Tauranga, Port Nicholson, and at various other places. The coasts of New Zealand, abounding with the sperm whale, and likewise with seal, the numerous harbours were frequently visited by vessels in their whaling, sealing, and trading expeditions; vessels likewise occasionally arrived from Sydney in ballast, in order to fill up and load with timber, oil, and flax; and a regular and increasing trade was in this manner at an early period established. Many of the people connected with these whaling, sealing, and trading expeditions, allured by the attractions of the native

women, were induced to remain and settle in the country. These persons lived under the protection of some chief, became proprietors of land, on which they settled, built a house, enclosed and laid out a garden, cultivated their potatoes, and had pigs and poultry, as well as a troop of half-caste children growing around them. In this way were united both races, not only in the peaceful bonds of a common welfare, but by the still more binding ties of sympathy and affection, and all the engaging relations of social existence.

This condition of affairs attracted the attention of the Government, who, in order to assist the natives in maintaining their authority, gave them a national flag, and in the year 1833 appointed a commissioner, under the control of the Government of New South Wales and the Foreign Office, to reside among them. By these measures, trade was not only stimulated, but a desire to settle in the country, and acquire the possession of land, was promoted. This passion for land and love of territory, so characteristic of our race, were not confined to those who resided in the country, but were displayed by the wealthy merchants and settlers in Australia; indeed, all classes vied with each other in the desire to acquire land in New Zealand, and for a few muskets or a bale or two of blankets, the natives were induced to assign away territory as large as an English county. In the meanwhile, many schemes were projected for founding settlements in the country, but none of them were practically successful. At last, however, in the year 1838, a company was formed in London for colonising and founding settlements in New

Zealand. The chief adviser and guiding spirit in this undertaking was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a man gifted with abilities of a high order, which, if properly directed, might have raised him to be Prime Minister of England, and enrolled his name in the Peerage. This association, known as the New Zealand Company, was introduced to public notice by a galaxy of names as directors, distinguished for influence and wealth, and animated with a spirit of adventure and enterprise, seldom aroused in England since the time when Sir Harry Vane and his companions sailed from its shores to found settlements in America.

The names of the Earl of Durham and Mr. Charles Buller, besides those of many others of wealth and influence, were sufficient to establish the character of this company on a solid basis that indicated power, wealth, and enterprise; and a number of ships with emigrants, many of them sons, elder as well as younger, of some of the best families in the kingdom, were despatched from England about the middle of the year 1839. These emigrants were destined to be the founders of the colony of New Zealand.

In order to create public enthusiasm in favour of this expedition, every circumstance calculated to attract attention and attach importance to it was employed by this powerful company. Peers of Parliament and members of the House of Commons went on board the vessels to address the emigrants on the eve of their departure; and Tom Campbell, the greatest living poet in England at the time, was induced to write the following ode on the occasion:

Steer, helmsman, till you steer our way,
By stars beyond the line;
We go to found a realm, one day
Like England's self to shine!

CHORUS.

Cheer up, cheer up, our course we'll keep
With dauntless heart and hand;
And when we've ploughed the stormy deep,
We'll plough a smiling land.

A land where beauties importune
The Briton to its bowers;
To sow but plenteous seeds, and prune
Luxuriant fruits and flowers!
Chorus—Cheer up, cheer up, &c.

There, tracts uncheered by human words,
Seclusion's wildest holds,
Shall hear the lowing of our herds,
And tinkling of our folds.
Chorus—Cheer up, cheer up, &c.

Like rubies set in gold shall blush
Our vineyards girt with corn;
And wine, and oil, and gladness, gush
From Amalthea's horn.
Chorus—Cheer up, cheer up, &c.

Britannia's pride is in our hearts,
Her blood is in our veins;
We'll girdle earth with British arts,
Like Ariel's magic chains!

CHORUS.

Cheer up, cheer up, our course we'll keep
With dauntless heart and hand;
And when we've ploughed the stormy deep,
We'll plough a smiling land.

According to the principles and practice of the British Constitution, the subjects of the realm have no power to found colonies or establish settlements

without the authority of the mother country; and as this company had not obtained the sanction of the Crown, the Government, in order to avoid a conflict with such a powerful body, and to prevent their operations from assuming an irregular, if not an illegal, character, took immediate and judicious measures, either to establish a protectorate jointly with the natives, or with their sanction to proclaim New Zealand a British colony. A naval officer, Captain William Hobson, who had visited New Zealand in the course of service, was therefore invested with the necessary powers for this purpose, and despatched with all expedition to Sydney, in order to place himself under the control and guidance of Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales; and on his arrival, that able governor lost no time in sending him on to New Zealand in a ship of war. Captain Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands on January 29, 1840, and a few days afterwards, on February 7, New Zealand was proclaimed a British colony, and a dependency of New South Wales.[1] The same day, the native chiefs, having ceded by treaty the sovereignty of the islands to the Queen, the latter guaranteed to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects. This act, annexing the country to England, was executed at the famous convention of chiefs, held at Waitangi, Bay of Islands, on the day last named, and is known in the annals of the colony as the 'Treaty of Wai-

[1] The draft of the famous 'Treaty of Waitangi' was prepared by the late James Busby, Esq., at that time chief British Resident in New Zealand; and was adopted by the Governor, Captain Hobson, without any other alteration than a transposition of certain sentences, which did not in any degree affect the sense; and it was translated into the Maori language by the late Venerable Archdeacon Henry Williams.

tangi.' Prior to the completion of this treaty, the New Zealand Company's ships had arrived at Port Nicholson, landed their immigrants,[1] who,[1] under the auspices of the company's agent, Colonel William Wakefield, took possession of certain blocks of land, alleged to have been purchased from the natives, and after the manner of their Saxon ancestors, established a provisional and local self-government. In this manner was New Zealand annexed to the British Crown, and not a day too soon, for a ship of war had already been despatched from France, to take possession of the country, and very shortly after the completion of the 'Treaty of Waitangi,' made its appearance in the seas and waters of New Zealand.

The French, shortly previous to this period, had adopted a colonising policy, and manifested a desire to obtain territory in the South Pacific, for the purpose of founding a colony, and, with this object in view, the captain of a French whaling ship purchased from the natives a tract of country at Banks' Peninsula, returned to France, and brought this circumstance under the notice of his Government. This purchase was viewed as a possible basis on which to erect a claim to the country, and under the sanction of the French Government, a company was immediately formed, and preparations made, for founding a colony in that part of New Zealand. Two ships with emigrants were despatched from France, accompanied by a ship of war, to take possession and found a settlement. These vessels arrived in New Zealand very shortly after the British Government had obtained possession of the country by treaty from the natives, but before formal possession had been taken of any

[1] The 'Tory,' with Colonel Wakefield, arrived on August 17, 1839.

portion of the South Island. The French, on their arrival, not only took possession of the territory which had been purchased by their countryman from the natives, including the safe and picturesque harbour of Akaroa, but finding the country unoccupied, set up a claim to the sovereignty of the whole of the South Island, nor did they abandon their claim, without making strenuous efforts for its successful realisation. Old colonists can still remember how they were foiled in the attempt, but only after the exercise of the greatest vigilance on our part, and not before we had won a well-contested race.

Although New Zealand, ever since Cook's time, had been viewed as belonging to England, and at the famous Congress of Vienna in the year 1814, England's right to the country was acknowledged by the European Powers, still a doubt had, prior to this period of annexation, arisen, in respect to the sovereignty over the islands, in consequence of William IV. having given the native chiefs a national flag, and acknowledged their claim to freedom as well as their right to be an independent nation. This act, it was alleged, restored to the natives the right to dispose of their country to any foreign Power, a view in some measure supported by the fact that the Treaty of Waitangi was considered necessary as a preliminary to annexation to the British Crown.

The French therefore availed themselves of this doubt, and after landing their immigrants at Akaroa in the South Island, despatched a deputation in the French war frigate to wait on the Governor at the Bay of Islands, in order to prefer their claim to be an independent colony.

One evening, somewhere about thirty-two years ago, two ships of war lay at anchor in the safe and magnificent harbour of the Bay of Islands; one was a French corvette, and the other an old British ten-gun brig. The two countries represented by these vessels were on friendly terms with each other, and the usual courtesies were observed between the two commanders, although in their zeal each vied with the other, in order to achieve the object which their respective Governments had in view.

The two vessels, at sunset, lay at anchor a short distance from each other, but long before sunrise the next morning, the Englishman, anticipating the movements of his rival, had during the night eluded his vigilance, set sail and gone to sea without being perceived; when day dawned, the Frenchman looked, but looked in vain for his rival, and in the bitterness of his disappointment no doubt felt as if he had lost a rose from the wreath in his chaplet. No time was lost, however, in getting his ship under weigh, and putting to sea, with every sail set which the corvette could carry. Such was the start in the race of seven hundred miles, betwixt these two ships of war—a race between France and England, for the sovereignty of the South Island of New Zealand. The French corvette was superior in every respect to the English ship, but Captain Owen Stanley, in the old 'Britomart,' like a true and gallant British sailor when the welfare of his country was at stake, did his duty in such good style, that he reached Akaroa harbour at Banks' Peninsula in the South Island, landed, took formal possession of it in the Queen's name, hoisted the Red Cross of St. George and the Union Jack on a flag-staff, and fired a salute of

twenty-one guns in honour of the event, before the French corvette, although in sight, could come to anchor.

The colonists of New Zealand should erect a column 'in memoriam' of Captain Owen Stanley, who secured in such a manner to his country one of the finest islands ever annexed to the Crown of England, and the zeal, skill and enterprise displayed by him in the performance of his duty on that occasion, should not be allowed to drift into oblivion.[1]

It has been alleged that the French could not, under any circumstances, have made good their claim to the South Island, but whatever the result of diplomacy might have been, Captain Stanley's conduct on this occasion without doubt settled the question. Had the French corvette reached Akaroa before him, a claim would unquestionably have been made by France, and the sovereignty of the South Island would have become a question in dispute between France and England, and diplomatists would have wrangled over such a matter for years, and unpleasant results if not actual hostilities might have followed.

The French settlement at Akaroa therefore in this manner lost all claim to be an independent colony, although established under the auspices of the French Government, and the colonists became exem-

[1] Captain Owen Stanley's death at an early age, while in command of the 'Rattlesnake,' a frigate of 21 guns, was a great loss to the service, as he possessed scientific attainments of a high order, and was much esteemed in the Navy, as well as by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. He was the eldest son of the late Right Reverend Dr. Edward Stanley, still remembered as the Bishop, *par excellence*, of Norwich, and brother to the present accomplished and highly esteemed Dean of Westminster.

plary subjects of an English Governor, not only thrifty and industrious, but distinguished for their orderly behaviour, and obedience to the laws.

The country in this district is broken and hilly, and not well adapted for settlement, as there is little land available for cultivation, but the harbour is one of the finest in the colony, and the picturesque character of the landscape is unrivalled.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER III.

February, 1840: Governor Hobson resides at the Bay of Islands—Character of the Inhabitants of the Settlement at the Bay of Islands prior to the 'Treaty of Waitangi'—Selection of Auckland as a Site for the Seat of Government—Governor Hobson removes from the Bay of Islands to Auckland—New Zealand erected into a separate Colony—Auckland by Royal Proclamation becomes the Capital and Seat of Government for the whole of New Zealand—The New Zealand Company found a Town and Settlement at Port Nicholson—The Town of Wellington—The Company found two additional Settlements at Wanganui and Taranaki—The Governor appoints Officers to collect the Revenue and administer the Laws in all the Company's Settlements—Rivalry betwixt the Government and the Company—April 18, 1841: The first Land Sale at Auckland highly favourable—The Old Land Claimants dissatisfied—Nelson the first Settlement in the South Island founded by the Company—Nelson—The Governor extremely anxious to conciliate the Company—Chief Justice and Bishop appointed for New Zealand—September 10, 1842: Death of Governor Hobson—The Government that known as a Crown Colony—Condition of the Colony at the death of Governor Hobson—Primitive Condition of the Settlement at Auckland—Prosperous Condition of the Company's Settlements—The Conflict with the Natives known as the 'Wairau Massacre.'

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HOBSON took up his temporary residence at the Bay of Islands with his staff of officials and the military, consisting of a detachment of the 80th Regiment, under the command of Major Bunbury. The head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society were in this neighbourhood, and

a maritime settlement had grown into some importance on the shores of the harbour, at Kororarika. The latter was a rendezvous for numerous whaling ships, chiefly American, and a considerable trade was carried on with Sydney as well as with the natives, who provided these ships with such supplies as the country afforded. The inhabitants of this settlement are represented to have been adventurers from all parts of the world, most of them connected with seafaring pursuits, and many, as might have been expected, of a lawless and turbulent character. Some bore the reputation of having been buccaneers, and familiar with—

> The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can.

These, however, were probably neither better nor worse than a collection of roving and enterprising people, brought together without being subjected to law or order or indeed authority of any kind, except when punishment was inflicted on some delinquent openly in the presence of the whole community, by order of a Committee of Safety, as an example to all offenders. Very shortly after the execution of the Treaty of Waitangi, the governor proceeded in the 'Herald' ship of war on a tour to explore and inspect the harbours and coasts, in order to select a site for the seat of government for the whole of New Zealand. After examining many places, he fixed on a spot on the banks of the Waitemata, an estuary in the Firth of the Thames, known as Prince Regent's Inlet; at this place the plan of a town was laid off on the ground, which was named Auckland, in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty. Early in January 1841, the governor removed from the Bay of Islands

and took up his permanent residence at Auckland. Shortly after he received intelligence that New Zealand, hitherto a dependency of New South Wales, had been erected into a separate colony, by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and that he had been confirmed in his appointment as governor.

The selection of this site for the seat of government is justified by the result, and although Auckland is now shorn of its prestige, having ceased to be the seat of government and capital of New Zealand, it still maintains its ground and takes rank as the most important commercial town in the colony; while the province is the largest and most populous of all the provinces of New Zealand.

The town of Auckland, like Corinth, is situated on an isthmus, having a noble harbour on the east side of the island, and the Manakau harbour on the west coast, about six miles from it on the opposite side. The space intervening between the two towns, Auckland and Onehunga, is covered with orchards and vineyards, and studded with villas. The adjoining country was found not only extremely eligible for settlement, but highly picturesque, and in some parts nearly intersected with navigable estuaries. Numerous low small hills of volcanic origin are situated all over the district, isolated, and rising abruptly from the plain. These are now covered with luxuriant pastures well stocked with flocks and herds, and their verdant slopes, as well as the plains at their base, are dotted with homesteads and villages, which, like the bright tints in a painting, impart life and animation to the scene; while beyond the blue and placid waters of the Waitemata, on the opposite shores of Auckland harbour, in their varied character of

grandeur and beauty, appear the islands of Rangitoto, Motutapu, and Waihiki, forming half a circle, and enclosing the estuary from the sea. Beyond these again, in the distance, and mingled with the horizon, is to be seen the dim outline of the mountain ranges of Cape Colville, 3,000 feet high, which, under the brightness of a summer's sun and an Italian sky, bound and complete the features of a landscape remarkable for its loveliness and surpassing beauty. This scene becomes still more interesting, when it is recollected that in some measure it is associated with the memory, and rendered historic by the genius of Cook, as some of the prominent features of the country, so faithfully delineated and appropriately named by the great navigator, are to be seen from the windows of the houses in Auckland. Seventy years before New Zealand became a British colony, he recommended this neighbourhood, from its affording easy access into the interior of the country, as a site well adapted for a settlement, and with his usual sagacity noticed, while his ship lay at anchor in Mercury Bay, that the shores, from their geological formation and character, indicated the presence of mineral wealth and gold. After a period of one hundred years his anticipations have been realised by the discovery of one of the richest gold fields in the world, on the shores of the Thames, realising, not in poetic strains but literally, Denham's famous line respecting 'The Thames,'

> Whose foam is amber, and whose gravel gold.

Auckland is the centre of the largest native population, is in the immediate neighbourhood of the largest forests, and the largest river in the colony,

the Waikato, which is navigable for 120 miles, flows through a fine country, and terminates its course in the sea a short distance from it on the west coast. The Thames, very little inferior as a river, and more famous for its gold, forms a noble estuary, within forty miles of it on the east side. On its shores a town containing 12,000 inhabitants has lately grown into importance, from the immense auriferous wealth found in its neighbourhood.

The position of Auckland is unrivalled for its maritime advantages, and when the railways at present in process of formation, and in contemplation, are finished, facilities for internal communication by water and rail will exist of a character equal, if not superior, to those of any portion of the colony. The population of the city and suburbs is now (1872) upwards of 20,000, and within a radius of ten miles the population is not less than 40,000.

While Governor Hobson was employed in selecting a site for the seat of Government, and founding a settlement in the north, Colonel Wakefield, the agent of the New Zealand Company, was no less active in forming a settlement and laying out a city in the south at Port Nicholson. The New Zealand Company in the first instance fixed upon a site for a town near to the point at which the river Hutt falls into the harbour, which was named 'Britannia.' This place was, however, soon after abandoned for the present site of the town of Wellington, about nine miles from the former, and in every respect superior, and the best that could have been chosen. Here the company's agent laid out a town, and named it Wellington after the great Duke. The harbour is one of the finest in the world, and the place has

gradually advanced from its original condition of a fishing village into a romantic-looking town, and is now the seat of government for the whole of New Zealand. The town is situated on the shores of the harbour, and forms a crescent, extending upwards of two miles in length, with picturesque hills in a circle rising abruptly behind it. The view from these hills, although fine, is wild, and the scenery of a Swiss character. It includes the valley of the Hutt, which is fertile and beautiful, though limited in extent. The hills around the town and harbour are now covered with luxuriant pastures, and numerous handsome seats appear on their slopes. The population of the town and suburbs in 1872 was upwards of 8,000, and it is a growing city, with a fair aspect, a fine climate, and noble harbour, central in its position, and possessing the prestige of being the seat of government.

The company, however, was not satisfied with founding one settlement only, but animated with that spirit of enterprise which distinguished it, went boldly to work in its measures of colonisation. They purchased land from the natives, and formed on the west coast two settlements, one at Wanganui, about one hundred miles from Wellington, in a fertile district, near the mouth of the fine river of that name, and the other, New Plymouth, at Taranaki, near the base of Mount Egmont, the most beautiful of all our New Zealand mountains, rising from the sea into a conical tower or turret, 7,000 feet high. The situation of these two settlements was well chosen, as they are the two extremities of a belt of land of unrivalled fertility, although only a very limited extent of country at that time belonged to the company.

Wherever the company founded settlements, the governor appointed officers from his staff to administer the laws and collect the customs' revenue at each port on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. This immediate and successful action of the Government in establishing law and order, and the presence of a power superior to that of the company, were at first viewed with jealousy by them, which increased into a spirit of antagonism, and eventually resulted in open and avowed hostility.

The company, from their wealth and influence, and from having arrived in the country prior to its being erected into a colony, anticipated that they would be the ruling power, with the exclusive privilege of colonising the country, and never imagined that the Government would assume the right to maintain order, administer the laws, and form new settlements, except through them, and in harmony with their views and wishes. The Imperial Government, however, entertained very different views, and issued immediate directions that the company were to be subjected to the same laws and regulations as any other body of colonists, that their privileges were to be strictly limited to the operations of a trading company; and that they were in no way to be permitted to assume any of the functions of Government.

The Government and the company therefore at this early period became rivals, and began to colonise the country at two different points, about 400 miles apart, the one in the north, and the other in the south. This was a fortunate circumstance, and for the welfare of the country the most judicious system that could have been adopted.

The first sale of land in the north, the town sections at Auckland, was highly encouraging, as it realised upwards of 20,000*l.*, and the succeeding sales of suburban and country lands were no less satisfactory. The Government settlement in the north was therefore an undoubted success, while the natives were quiet and co-operative, and much of the early success and prosperity of Auckland is to be attributed to their peaceful character, and the harmonious and friendly relations which existed between the Government, natives, and colonists.

Those parties who had purchased land from the natives, before the country became a British colony, were however dissatisfied, as their claims to such lands were, by a local Act of the Legislature, subjected to investigation by commissioners appointed by the Government, and as many of these claims were boundless in extent, a power was given to the governor to limit their scope at his discretion, on the report of the commissioners.

This measure of investigation of titles gave great offence to many, as it deprived them of the means of paying the debts, incurred by borrowing money on the faith of such lands being their property, and as the Government in some instances acted injudiciously and without discrimination, others were exposed to much injustice and experienced severe hardships. This unnecessary and harsh measure towards many of the old land claimants greatly retarded the progress of the settlement in the north, and rendered the Government extremely unpopular. This circumstance, however, was made use of by the New Zealand Company in colouring and strengthening their complaints, when representing their grievances

to the Imperial Government, and as their settlements in the south were more numerous, enterprising, and successful than those of the Government in the north, their zeal in proclaiming their own success through the press, and their great parliamentary influence, rendered them all-powerful in England.

The operations of the New Zealand Company were prior to this time confined to the North Island, but having acquired territory in the southern, they resolved to extend their operations and form a settlement on the southern shores of Cook's Strait. This settlement was projected and founded by the company with characteristic energy and expedition. The whole of the local arrangements were judiciously placed under the superintendence of Captain Arthur Wakefield, an officer of ability in the Royal Navy, who performed his duties in a very successful manner. It received the appropriate name of Nelson, as the sister settlement to Wellington. The site of the town on level ground at the extremity of Blind Bay, is good, with a fine harbour well sheltered by a natural breakwater, the 'Boulder Bank.' Nelson has communication with the North Island and Wellington by a passage across Cook's Strait through the French Pass, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and the Tory Channel, and in making this voyage the steamer approaches almost within a stone's throw of the spot which tradition still points out as the site of Cook's first landing and encampment on the shores of New Zealand, in order to take formal possession of the country, and to recruit the health of his officers and crews. Irrespective of Cook's genius and fame, which have made this place historic ground, it is from other circumstances one of the most interesting spots in

the country. The picturesque beauty of the landscapes disclosed throughout the whole of this passage, is unrivalled, and by many is considered little if at all inferior to the scenery on the Rhine, to which it has a resemblance. Nelson is now a romantic rural town, as well as an important seaport, with a population, including the suburbs, of 7,500, and is one of the most delightful places of residence in the colony. The hills surrounding the town, with their spurs sweeping down to the shores of the bay, are now clothed with pastures, and their verdant slopes enlivened with flocks and herds, and many comfortable homesteads. The beauty and salubrity of the climate are unrivalled, and fruits of all kinds abundant. The coal of this province is the best in the colony. Gold was likewise discovered at an early period, and the field continues productive, and affords employment to a large mining population. Few places possess so many attractions as Nelson for a place of residence, and the number of handsome fortunes realised in pastoral and mercantile pursuits compare favourably with any other province in the colony.

The governor, at the time Nelson was founded, expressed a desire to co-operate on friendly terms with the company, and offered them a site for this settlement in the north at Tauranga. This was declined, as the company considered the formation of the Nelson settlement at a point still further removed than the others from the seat of government, as an act of consummate diplomacy on their part, and one which, as they alleged, gave the *coup de grâce* to the Government.

When New Zealand became a British colony, it was in the first instance a dependency of New South Wales, and the Supreme Court in Sydney was the

tribunal for the settlement of all legal affairs. In Church matters, New Zealand was a part of the diocese of the Bishop of Sydney, but as soon as the country was erected into a separate colony, a chief justice was appointed, and sent out from England, and about the same time a bishopric was erected, and a young English clergyman, Dr. Selwyn, Vicar of Windsor, was ordained first Bishop of New Zealand. In addition to the usual accomplishments, Dr. Selwyn possessed a handsome person and fascinating address, and captivated the Maories by his great physical power, as shown in various athletic feats, and his capacity of endurance, while the great facility with which he acquired a knowledge of their language, established for him a high character in their estimation. On their arrival, the Chief Justice and Bishop took up their residence, as a matter of course, at Auckland, the seat of government. The first chief justice was Sir William Martin, an accomplished scholar, of a refined yet vigorous intellect, who discharged his high and important duties not only with the purity and dignity of an English judge, but with the spirit of an English gentleman. Out of a state of chaos he had to create our courts of law, and adapt them to the condition of the colony; and in practical good sense, sound legal knowledge and independence of character, as well as in those accomplishments which distinguish the gentleman of refined taste and pursuits, he has never been excelled by any judge or public man in the colony. On his arrival he set to work vigorously to reconstruct a system of jurisdiction applicable to the colony, as many of the old laws of New South Wales were unsuitable for New Zealand. At the same time he very soon acquired a complete knowledge of the native language and character.

The first Maori he sentenced to death was a young chief who had been found guilty of committing a barbarous murder. After explaining to him the condition in which he was placed by the laws of the country, and addressing him in a very simple and impressive manner, he concluded by saying, 'Maketu, in your own emphatic language, I bid you go to your forefathers;' this expression at the time carried me in imagination to my own native land, the saying being as familiar among the Scotch as it is with the Maories. Sir William Martin, after fourteen or fifteen years' service with honour to himself and satisfaction to the colony, was compelled from severe and continued ill health to resign the office of Chief Justice, and the Stafford Government granted him a small pension of 340*l.* a year, a very inadequate reward for such meritorious and distinguished services, being no larger than the retiring pension usually allowed to the police magistrate, or collector of customs, of some Maori village.

Governor Hobson, whose health had been shattered by a stroke of paralysis soon after his arrival, died on September 10, 1842, at Auckland. He possessed good abilities, was extremely gentlemanlike in his appearance and manners, but during his career in New Zealand, his impaired health cast his good qualities into the shade. Nevertheless, he discharged his duties in a highly satisfactory manner, although his position was rendered an arduous and difficult one, by the struggle with such influential and enterprising opponents as the New Zealand Company. At this period New Zealand was governed as a Crown colony. The Legislature consisted of the governor, colonial secretary, treasurer, and attorney-general, all ap-

pointed by the Queen, with three colonists nominated by the governor, who held their seats during His Excellency's pleasure, but all laws passed by the Legislature were reserved for confirmation by Her Majesty, or, in other words, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and in the event of the death or absence of the governor, the Colonial Secretary became acting-governor for the time being. On the day following the demise of Governor Hobson, the Colonial Secretary, Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, R.N., was sworn in acting-governor, and his short administration was distinguished by firmness and good sense.

The colony at the time of Governor Hobson's death may fairly be described as enjoying a period of tranquillity, if not as highly prosperous. The sovereignty of the country had in a peaceful manner been ceded to the Queen by the natives, and the whole territory annexed to the Crown. At Auckland, in the centre of the largest native population, a settlement had been formed, and the country in the neighbourhood had been sold and was occupied by a numerous and enterprising class of colonists. These circumstances induced the Imperial Government to proclaim Auckland the capital and seat of government for the whole of New Zealand; and as the native population at that period was the most numerous and powerful, this act, without doubt or challenge, was a measure of sound policy.

The European population of the town and settlement at Auckland, at this time, did not exceed 2,000. The social condition of the colonists was extremely simple and primitive; the houses were mostly small wooden buildings, some indeed still remained of Maori architecture built of raupoo. The streets

were only half formed, or partially laid out, and in many places impassable without sinking deep in mud and water. On the occasion of a party at Government House, we got as far as the gate, but to get through the mud farther was impossible, without rendering us unpresentable at an evening party. We therefore hailed some Maories who were passing, to take pity on us, and carry us over the slough of mud, and we rode to the verandah of Government House on the backs of the Maories. In those days we were all young and high in spirits, and such words as trouble and difficulty were practically not to be found in our vocabulary. Great energy and enterprise were displayed as well as intelligence, and looking over the pages of the first report of the Auckland Agricultural Society published at that time, it appears even now a highly creditable production. The sound practical observations which it contains, respecting the method of clearing the land of bush and fern, as well as on the quality of cattle, horses and sheep, which it recommends for the consideration and selection of the settlers, compare favourably with the intelligence of the present day, and the precise way in which the cost and price of all produce and labour are recorded, is both interesting and valuable.

The advancement and success of the company's settlements in the south were likewise no less conspicuous and satisfactory, and they were held in public estimation as equal if not superior to those of the Government in the north. The funds at the disposal of the company were large, and vast sums had been expended, if not unwisely, at least unsparingly.

By a combination of capital and enterprise the

company had apparently overcome all difficulties, and established a number of settlements on a basis seemingly of sound and lasting prosperity.

A circumstance, however, occurred some months after the governor's death, which paralysed the affairs of the company, and created a profound sensation throughout the whole of New Zealand.

The natives in the South Island, being few in number and apparently in no way formidable, gave little trouble: no danger therefore was apprehended from them; consequently, they were treated with marked contempt by the company, who took arbitrary and high-handed measures with them on all occasions. Some dispute arose with the colonists which led to a trifling violation of the law on the part of the Maories, and Captain Arthur Wakefield, the company's agent, with a number of the leading colonists of Nelson, resolved to compel them to surrender and submit to be tried in our courts of law. The police magistrate was not only induced to issue his warrant for their apprehension, but to accompany the party of gentlemen who undertook the command of an expedition to apprehend them. Being well armed the leaders of this force apprehended no difficulty or danger. The natives, however, had no intention of submitting, and retreated to a remote place in their own territory, where they were found by the party in pursuit. They had taken up a position on the east bank of the Tua Marina stream, a tributary of the deep and turbulent Wairau, a river fed by mountain torrents, which flows through the fertile and picturesque dales of that district. On perceiving their pursuers, the Maories drew together and assumed a defensive attitude, and when the gentle-

men advanced from the opposite side and were crossing the stream in order to apprehend them, a shot was fired by one of their party, whether by accident or design was never known, and a native was killed; a skirmish ensued, and some of the gentlemen, including the resident magistrate, fell mortally wounded; the natives, encouraged by their success, attacked their opponents vigorously, compelling them to retreat, and, after a short parley, to lay down their arms, and surrender. Exasperated by the losses they had sustained, the natives then killed nearly the whole of them, not one of the gentlemen escaping. Two or three of the constables, by concealing themselves in the long fern, were the only survivors who returned to narrate the dismal story of this disaster.

Twelve or fifteen of the leading colonists of Nelson, including Captain Arthur Wakefield, the company's agent, and Mr. Thompson, the resident magistrate, fell in this encounter. It took place on June 17, 1843, and is known in the annals of the colony as the 'Wairau Massacre.' A column 'in memoriam' of the unfortunate victims has been erected on the spot where they fell.

The natives maintained that the police magistrate and his staff fired the first shot, and this statement was confirmed by the survivors of the party.

This victory over the colonists had a most prejudicial effect on the minds of the natives. Since the country had become a British colony, peace had prevailed, and an acknowledged supremacy in authority, as well as superiority in race, had been maintained on our part. A quarrel had now unfortunately arisen, and a fight had ensued in which we had been defeated; we had therefore not only lost our prestige as a superior race, but the natives had lost faith in

our magnanimity, and a general want of confidence prevailed which fell little short of a panic.

Under such circumstances the Government could not demand satisfaction from the conquerors, who had the law on their side; they had been attacked, and one of their people killed, before they had offered resistance, and had only defended themselves when assailed. The killing of the prisoners after they had surrendered was, no doubt, a barbarous act; it was a frequent and usual occurrence among savages, and even in civilised warfare it is sometimes difficult to restrain excited men from killing prisoners.[1]

This disaster was a 'heavy blow and a great discouragement' to the company, from which it never recovered. They had derided and talked of the 'Treaty of Waitangi' as unworthy of the consideration of statesmen, alleging it was merely a device to amuse savages, which ought not to be respected or considered binding on them. While attempting to carry such views into practical operation, they experienced a defeat from the natives, which shook the fabric of their vast power to its foundation. The strife which ensued with the Government was transferred from the colony to England, and Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, declared in his place in Parliament, that the Government was resolved to maintain the 'Treaty of Waitangi' in all its integrity; and many an animated debate took place, respecting the condition and affairs of the colony, often continuing from eve to early morn, before the powerful company gave way.

[1] General Sir Charles Napier narrates that when taken prisoner at the battle of Corunna, and after he had surrendered, his life was twice attempted by the French soldiers, and that he was indebted to a noble-hearted French drummer for his safety.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival of Captain FitzRoy as Governor—A severe Monetary Crisis prevails in the Colony—The Natives get irritated as well as provoked respecting their Lands—The Governor waives the Crown's right of pre-emption over Native Lands Impolicy of his financial Measures—The Settlements in the South petition for his recall—Johnny Heki, a Native Chief, commences the War in the North—The Town of Russell taken and sacked by the Natives—Auckland fortified—Small force in the Colony—Lieut. Barclay tried by Court-Martial—Condition of Colonial Affairs—Failure of Lieut.-Col. Hulme's Expedition—Skill displayed by the Maories in erecting Pahs—Major Wilmot, R.A. —Colonel Despard appointed Commander of the Forces—Storming party defeated before Heki's Pah at Ohaiawai—Major Macpherson, Lieut. David Beattie, Lieut. Philpotts, R.N., and Captain Grant—The Natives abandon their Pah—Governor FitzRoy recalled—Mrs. FitzRoy.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1843, Captain Robert FitzRoy, an officer in the Royal Navy, who had previously held a seat in the House of Commons, arrived in New Zealand, having been appointed Governor in succession to Captain Hobson. On his arrival he had immediately to grapple with various important questions, and had to encounter a combination of difficulties, which neither his firmness could withstand nor his judgment surmount.

A severe monetary crisis prevailed at that time, both in the Australian colonies and New Zealand, and the distress and suffering experienced by all classes were severe and protracted. When the

new Governor arrived at Auckland, he found the colony suffering from extreme monetary depression; the Government not only financially embarrassed, but its resources exhausted, and the salaries of the officers for months in arrear, from want of funds. The natives were likewise exposed to similar privations and hardships; for by an Act of the local Legislature, they could sell their land to the Government only, who had then no funds wherewith to buy it when offered for sale, nor would they allow the colonists to purchase it, although able and willing. The natives maintained, and not unreasonably, that the law gave the Government only the right of pre-emption, and that on the refusal of the Government they were at liberty to dispose of them to the colonists. As their lands were not Crown lands, they could be sold at less than the Government upset price of 1*l.* per acre. Hitherto the Government and the company were the exclusive vendors of land; now a third party, the natives, by far the largest owners, appeared, not only as rivals and competitors, but prepared to undersell and drive the former altogether out of the field. The Government and the company, who reaped large profits in buying lands from the natives at a mere nominal price, from a farthing to sixpence an acre, and then re-selling it to the colonists at the minimum price of 1*l.*, united in opposing the sale of land direct to the colonists by the natives. This land-jobbing monopoly, although practised by the company, was highly injudicious on the part of the Government. A bond of sympathy and self-interest united the natives and colonists. The natives, irritated as well as provoked by this dog-in-the manger policy, proceeded from one act of aggression

to another, until at last they set the Government at defiance by cutting down the flagstaff at the Bay of Islands, which they considered was the emblem of British authority.

In the south the condition of the company's settlements was equally depressed and unsatisfactory. The natives were gloomy and suspicious, and yet uncertain what measures would be adopted by the Government respecting the treatment of the prisoners taken at the fight at the Wairau. But when the governor visited the south, he carefully investigated all circumstances connected with that untoward event, and, after mature consideration, announced that he considered that the unfortunate gentlemen who fell in the conflict had been the aggressors, and that no measures of retaliation would be adopted by the Government. A shout of execration was raised by the company at this decision, and they denounced the conduct of the governor as unjust and pusillanimous. The settlements in the south consequently manifested the bitterest hostility towards the governor, and took measures to thwart and annoy him in every possible manner. The governor, on his return to the north, experienced the greatest difficulty in maintaining peace and order among the native inhabitants, in reference to the land question. This condition of affairs forced him to resort to the only means at his disposal calculated to maintain the tranquillity of the natives. He therefore boldly resolved on, and wisely introduced measures for, the total abolition of the obnoxious system of land-jobbing; and without waiting for the authority of the Imperial Government, immediately on his own responsibility issued a proclamation announcing that

he was prepared, under certain conditions and regulations, to waive the Crown's right of pre-emption over native lands, and to permit the owners to dispose of them direct to the colonists. This measure was the *coup de grâce* to the company. It was sound policy, and was carried into operation in a statesmanlike manner. If Governor FitzRoy had limited the innovations of his policy to this measure, and met the further and unreasonable demands of the natives with a decided refusal, his career, instead of being a failure, would have been one of brilliant achievement and success.

This system of allowing the native lands to be disposed of direct to the colonists, is the basis on which the early prosperity of Auckland was erected, as it secured the peaceful co-operation of the natives, and gave an impetus to its enterprise, which in a few months raised its condition, from a state of despondency bordering on despair, into a thriving and prosperous settlement.

In addition to this measure, so highly beneficial and satisfactory to both races, the governor introduced and carried into operation another, calculated to be no less favourable to the parties interested, than conducive to the sound and permanent prosperity of the settlements in the north. Many of the old land claimants, who had acquired land before the country became a British colony, and who had experienced hard treatment from the Government, had now fallen into poverty, and were living with their families unprotected in remote places, far removed from civilisation. The governor therefore resolved, on behalf of the Crown, to purchase their lands situated in these remote places, giving them in

exchange lands situated in the town or neighbourhood of Auckland. This was sound and judicious policy, as it collected the remotely scattered population of the country around Auckland, rendering them safe from native aggression, and at the same time strengthening the settlement by increasing its population. Numbers of the old colonists availed themselves of the advantages offered by this measure, and many comfortable hamlets and happy homes were in this manner created, and not a few of the colonists are now indebted to it for their wealthy and independent position.

These measures, so practical, legitimate, and favourable to the Government settlements in the north, created on the part of the company's settlements in the south the most intense animosity and hostility against the governor, and a petition to the Imperial Government for his recall was immediately prepared, numerously signed, and forwarded by one of the leading partisans, who was despatched to England as a special representative of their alleged grievances.

Hitherto, Governor FitzRoy's policy was legitimate and statesmanlike; although some of his measures were innovations and antagonistic to the views of the New Zealand Company, they were however founded on sound principles, and justified by necessity and the obligations of justice.

But from this time, his want of firmness in not resisting the unreasonable demands of the natives, and the measures he was driven to in his extremity in order to provide funds for carrying on his government, exposed him to censure. At the same time it must be remembered, that he was fettered by the Colonial Office, and entirely prohibited, under any

circumstances whatever, from drawing bills on the Lords of the Treasury. He therefore resolved to issue debentures,[1] which was a legitimate step; but he went beyond his authority in establishing these debentures as a circulating medium, and making them a legal tender. The result was fatal to his colonial career; he sacrificed himself, but saved the colony; and as these debentures were ultimately taken up and paid from imperial funds, he merely anticipated this result in the measure forced upon him by the absurd conduct of the Colonial Office in sending him to govern a remote colony, without providing funds to meet the ordinary charges.

There was another measure of his financial policy which cannot be defended: the abolition of the revenue raised by the customs duties, and the substitution of a direct tax on property in its place. This measure, it was alleged, was adopted in order to pacify the natives; but it cannot be defended even on such a ground. Political economy is an inductive, and not an experimental science, and the financial condition of the colony did not justify him in making such an experiment.

The governor's land policy was however successful, and peace was maintained at Auckland, where the largest native population resided. The great and powerful Waikato chiefs continued friendly, aiding and strengthening the Government, and offered their

[1] When this debenture question was introduced, the writer of these pages strongly urged upon the consideration of the Government the policy of simply issuing debentures or exchequer bills, bearing interest at the rate of sixpence per diem for every 100*l.*; and at this rate of interest, the gold and silver hoarded up by the merchants and colonists would have been brought into circulation, and the necessity for a Government legal tender paper currency rendered superfluous.

services to defend Auckland from the aggression of all hostile natives. To this circumstance it was owing that, in a period of peril and alarm, Auckland remained undisturbed, enjoying peace and prosperity during the war that ensued, and which for a time rendered the two extremities of the North Island in many places desolate.

The natives, after cutting down the flagstaff at the Bay of Islands, continued in a hostile and turbulent condition, which induced Captain FitzRoy to apply to Sir George Gipps, the governor of New South Wales, for a reinforcement of troops, which application was promptly complied with. The immediate and unexpected arrival of this military force at the Bay of Islands, produced for a time a salutary influence on the minds of the insubordinate natives, who readily assumed a subdued behaviour, and expressed regret for their previous lawless conduct, at the same time promising to remain quiet and submissive for the future, provided the governor sent the troops immediately out of the country. The governor was deceived by this show of submission on the part of the chiefs, and very injudiciously ordered the troops to re-embark forthwith, and return to Sydney. This want of firmness displayed by the governor only encouraged the natives to proceed to further acts of hostility, on a more extended and systematic basis.

The leader in these disturbances was a turbulent Maori chief, Johnny Heki, who commenced his lawless career by cutting down again and again the flagstaff at the Bay of Islands. The Government, with more zeal than discretion, resolved to prevent him from committing such acts in future, and for this

purpose built a blockhouse ball-proof, on the top of the hill on which the flagstaff was erected, and in it was placed a detachment consisting of fifteen soldiers of the 96th Regiment, under the command of Ensign Campbell, with orders to hold the place and protect the flag at all hazards. The chief, Johnny Heki, was however not to be foiled in his monomania for cutting down this flag. He had observed that Ensign Campbell and his men, when they saw the Maories advancing towards the town below, left the blockhouse and repaired to the brow of the hill, in order to obtain a view of what was going on with the natives, and he prepared his plans accordingly. He ordered some fifteen of his stout and daring fellows to proceed during the night to within a short distance of the blockhouse and conceal themselves in the tall brown fern, which in colour could hardly be distinguished from the tawny skins of the Maories.

After planting this party in ambush during the night, Heki the following morning, in force, advanced towards the town, and fired a few volleys, in order to attract the attention of the military in the blockhouse. Campbell, on hearing the report of musketry, hastily left his post with his men, in order to observe what was going on below, leaving the blockhouse and flag unprotected; when the Maories in ambush, who were watching all his proceedings, and only waiting for this opportunity, leaped from their cover in the fern, and bounding like deer towards the blockhouse were immediately in possession of it, including all the arms and munitions of war, killing an unfortunate soldier, the only one that remained at his post to defend it. In order to complete their victory, and at the same time to announce the success of the enterprise to

their friends, they fired volley after volley at Campbell and his party of soldiers, who scampered off, as fast as they could run, for safety to the nearest blockhouse, about a mile distant below.

This capture of the flag and blockhouse greatly encouraged the natives in their career of hostility, and they now gathered together in considerable numbers under their two leaders Heki and Kaweti, who, boasting that the conflict at the Wairau had revealed the weakness of the English and superiority of the Maories, threw off all allegiance to the Government, set the military at defiance, and appeared in open rebellion.

The 'Hazard' sloop of war was sent to protect the inhabitants and their property in the town of Russell. The natives, however, appeared in considerable force, and immediately attacked the place. The sailors then landed from the 'Hazard,' and in the most gallant manner repulsed the assailants for some time; but when Captain Robertson, the commander of the 'Hazard,' who was severely wounded, had to be carried on board his ship, the natives renewed the assault, and succeeded in taking the place, which they sacked. The inhabitants, men, women, and children, including the military, had in the meantime found an asylum on board the ship of war, which immediately after the capture of the town sailed for Auckland. The place was therefore abandoned, a few of the old colonists, with their families, whom the natives had taken under their protection, including the missionaries, being the only Europeans who ventured to remain after this disaster at the Bay of Islands.

When the 'Hazard' arrived at Auckland, bringing

intelligence of our defeat, and of the fall and sacking of that settlement by the natives, a general want of confidence in all Maories was apprehended, and a panic for a short time ensued. St. Paul's church at Auckland, and the barracks at Fort Britomart, were the only places at that time considered ball-proof, being built of brick and stone, and in periods of alarm, the women and children, including the governor's wife and family, were frequently seen hastening for safety towards these places.

The sound policy of Governor FitzRoy's land measures was then made apparent, and the policy he adopted for conciliating and securing the co-operation of the natives produced results highly satisfactory. The Waikato natives, who were the most numerous and warlike in the country, including the great and powerful chief Te Whero Whero, on learning the disaster which had befallen us, at once offered their services to the Government for the defence of Auckland. The importance of this friendly disposition on the part of the Waikatos can hardly be over-estimated, and the confidence and security which it inspired cannot be described or fully comprehended, except by those who were exposed to the risks, sufferings, and vicissitudes of that eventful period. The governor maintained a courageous attitude, and took immediate measures to fortify and place Auckland in a condition to resist attacks, and secure the inhabitants from all apprehension of danger. He was well supported by the people; no despondency was manifested, but all classes assisted readily in raising works of defence. The writer of this sketch took in his turn, for a few hours every day, his share in digging a ditch and throwing up a rampart around

Fort Britomart, and his right-hand fellow-labourer in the trenches was a barrister, the Hon. Mr. Bartley, subsequently President of the Legislative Council for many years, in the General Assembly of New Zealand. On one occasion a horseman, spurring and hot with haste, rode into the Fort, and gave the alarming intelligence, that a large party of hostile natives were advancing upon Auckland. My old friend and fellow-labourer, whose partiality for Shakspeare prevailed over all apprehension of danger, whirled his shovel over his head, and exclaiming in a style which John Kemble might have envied: 'Hang out our banners on the outward walls; the cry is still "They come!"' then pausing and looking at the unfinished and imperfect ramparts, added, 'Our castle's strength will laugh a siege to scorn,' resumed his digging with renewed energy and vigour.

An outcry was raised against the conduct of the officers in command of the forces at the Bay of Islands when the settlement of Russell was taken and sacked by the natives, and Lieutenant Barclay, 96th Regiment, was tried by a court-martial on a charge of behaving ill before the enemy; and although the evidence in his defence was considered to be sufficient to exempt him from official censure or reprimand, it was at the same time of such a character as to leave an impression that his conduct was not in harmony with efficiency. Lieutenant Barclay was amiable and gentlemanlike, but not equal to such an emergency, and an officer of greater hardihood and more experience should have been selected for the command of a post of such importance and exposed to such perils.

The officers and sailors of the 'Hazard' sloop of war were, however, as might have been expected, distinguished for their gallantry in repulsing the natives, as well as for their considerate humanity in offering their ship as an asylum to the military and the inhabitants when the town was taken. A sword, valued at one hundred guineas, was presented to Commander Robertson, by the inhabitants of Auckland, in testimony of their appreciation of his distinguished services.

The troops in the colony at that time, consisted of a detachment of the 96th Regiment under the command of Lieut.-Col. Hulme, and a small party of sappers, under the command of Captain Bennett of the Engineers. The total number did not exceed 150 men all told, and of this force a detachment of sixty men had been for some time previously stationed at Wellington. The remaining force at Auckland was therefore hardly sufficient and could only act on the defensive. The formation of an expedition to proceed to the north, to quell the native insurrection, was therefore an effort requiring a force far beyond that which the governor had at his disposal, until a reinforcement of troops could be obtained from Sydney, which was the head-quarters of the military in the Australian Colonies, including New Zealand.

While the seat of government in the north was placed in this helpless condition, the company's settlements in the south were in no better position; and although not engaged in actual warfare, could afford no assistance to Auckland, as they were exposed to panics and alarms from the hostile attitude of the natives, who were apparently only waiting for a favourable opportunity to commence hostilities.

Our defeat at the Wairau had damaged our prestige in the south as a superior race, which suffered still further from Heki's subsequent defeat of our troops in the north. A strong conviction was impressed upon the natives, that we were no match for them in war. It therefore became apparent, that the two extremities of the North Island must soon become the scene of military operations, and that our prestige could only be re-established by the advance of our troops in overwhelming force, and a defeat of the natives on their own system of warfare, and in their remote and hitherto supposed inaccessible positions. In the meantime, it was extremely fortunate that peace prevailed at Auckland, which is situated nearly in the centre of the North Island, and where the natives were the most numerous, as well as the most warlike. The fact of the powerful Waikato chiefs being on our side, was not without its weight and influence in restraining many tribes from joining the rebels, and inducing others to remain neutral in the approaching and inevitable contest betwixt the two races.

This condition of affairs without doubt was the result of misgovernment. Our policy, instead of being distinguished for its humanity and magnanimity towards an inferior race, exhibited the arbitrary and high-handed conduct of the company, which alienated and irritated them; while the disgraceful system of land-jobbing, practised both by the Government and the company, had created a strong impression on the minds of the chiefs that they were treated unjustly and without sufficient consideration; and when we had resorted to arms in order to overawe and coerce them into submission, our defeats and disasters, north

and south, encouraged them to rise in rebellion, not so much against the sovereignty of the queen as against the unjust measures of the company and the Government in respect to their lands. In justice, however, to the memory of Captain FitzRoy, while recording his want of firmness in the administration of native affairs, at the same time his fearlessness in not shrinking from assuming responsibilities, when the welfare of the colony rendered it expedient, and his personal intrepidity in facing and encountering difficulties cannot be forgotten. These qualities were conspicuous features in his character and conduct, and when necessity as well as sound policy forced upon him measures antagonistic not only to the views of the company but to the traditions of the Colonial Office, he had the boldness to carry them into operation. In emergency, no faltering timidity impaired the force of his measures or embarrassed his government. On such occasions he resembled his maternal uncle, the famous Marquis of Londonderry, better known in the early part of this century in the British House of Commons as Lord Castlereagh.

As soon as the intelligence of the defeat of our troops at Russell was received in Sydney, Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, with characteristic zeal and energy for the welfare of New Zealand, took immediate measures in co-operation with the commander of the forces, Lieutenant-General Sir Maurice O'Connell, to despatch a force to our relief; and a reinforcement of troops was embarked in a transport under orders to proceed with all expedition direct to Auckland. The head-quarters of the 58th Regiment, consisting of 400 men under the command of Major Bridge, were therefore landed at

Auckland as early as practicable, and about the same time, the 'North Star,' a frigate of twenty-one guns under the command of Captain Sir Everard Home, reached her destination, and appeared at anchor in New Zealand waters.

The governor had now a force at his disposal which was considered sufficient to extinguish the native insurrection; an expedition was therefore equipped and despatched without delay to the north for that purpose. This force consisted of the 58th Regiment, under Major Bridge, a small detachment of the 96th Regiment, including a few Auckland militia, numbering all told about 500 men, the whole under Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme, who was in command of the expedition. This force was accompanied by the two ships of war, the 'North Star' and 'Hazard.'

Our troops were landed at the Bay of Islands, and advanced a short way into the interior of the country, in order to attack the natives under Johnny Heki, who, after plundering the settlement at Russell, had retired some twelve or fifteen miles inland, where he had built a pah or fortified post in a strong position. The troops, accompanied by a large party of loyal and friendly natives, under a distinguished chief, Nene Waka, advanced and took up a position on a hill in the vicinity and overlooking Heki's pah and the surrounding country; while the commanding officer remained at this post with the head-quarters and the reserve, a force advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position; when they came within range of the enemy, Heki opened fire, and at the same time a party made a sally to attack them, from the pah, while simultaneously, another party of natives

under a war-chief, Kaweti, who had been lying concealed in ambush in the long fern, now springing from their cover attacked our troops in the rear. The latter were therefore placed between two attacking parties from opposite directions at the same time. The commanding officer from the hill observing these movements of the enemy, ordered his bugler to sound the call for retreat, but retreat was now impossible. Lieutenant John M'Lerie, adjutant of the 58th Regiment, and the officer of the Navy in command of the sailors and marines, in the most gallant manner and contrary to orders then led their men to the attack of the party of natives under Kaweti, who were advancing in the most intrepid style, and engaged our troops in a hand-to-hand fight. M'Lerie and his gallant fellows succeeded however, after experiencing severe loss, in repulsing the attack of the enemy, which permitted our force to retire to the position of the head-quarters staff on the hill, without being exposed to the fire of Heki's musketry in the pah. The chief, Kaweti, led on his men most gallantly in this attack, in which four of his sons fell. The combat was maintained with great intrepidity on both sides, and Lieut. M'Lerie's capacity for command was no less conspicuous than his gallantry. Had he obeyed the order of his commanding officer, and retired without, in the first instance, engaging and repulsing the enemy, the little force under his command would have been routed and cut off.

Ensign Campbell, 96th Regiment, who had been in command of the blockhouse at the Flagstaff hill at Russell when taken by the Maories, made himself conspicuous on this occasion by being the only one

of the force who retreated instead of fighting, in obedience to the orders of his commanding officer; and who, in his flight, had the marvellous good fortune to escape the bullets fired at him by both friends and foes.

This affair may be viewed as a specimen of the method of Maori warfare, and in this instance it was near proving successful. Nevertheless their operations were altogether of a defensive character, and as we had a force numerically as strong, and much better provided and equipped than they were, no reasonable grounds existed why all further operations against the enemy should cease, and the objects of the expedition be abandoned. The commanding officer however got alarmed, and, apprehending that his communication with the shipping might be intercepted, resolved to abandon all further military operations, and hastily returned with the troops to the Bay of Islands. This retreat was effected without interruption of any kind from the natives, and the whole of the forces were embarked for Auckland.

The failure of this expedition created immense sensation, and cast over the settlement a gloom and despondency never previously experienced. The governor naturally was much dissatisfied; and expressions of disappointment were heard from all parties. The writer of these reminiscences was present when the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme, landed at Auckland on his return, and assured those who had assembled to meet him 'that the force under his command was indebted to a merciful foe for its safe return.' Such was the termination of an expedition from which so much

was expected, but we could never understand how such a force could have been in jeopardy.

It appeared however that Johnny Heki, at least in the estimation of some of the military, was a formidable and clever fellow. At the same time, we had the satisfaction of knowing that Auckland was safe, with such a force for its protection; but no further military operations were to be taken against the enemy, until a further reinforcement of troops could be obtained from the head-quarters in Sydney. In those days steam communication did not exist, and a delay of some weeks ensued before we could receive a reply to our application for further assistance, as Sydney is 1,200 miles distant by sea from Auckland. In the meanwhile, our allies the Waikato natives remained firm and faithful to us, although our repeated disasters and uniform want of success in our military operations were sufficient to dispirit them, and shake their confidence in us. These natives came in large numbers every day to Auckland, expressing their sympathy and offering their services, but they did not appear to be so much concerned about the condition of affairs as we were. They were familiar with a state of hostilities, and their young men, who had few amusements in peaceful times, enjoyed war for its excitement and occupation.

Governor FitzRoy did not, however, accept their services, as he wished to show them that he could put down the insurrection without their assistance. In this view I thought he was wrong at the time, and I think so now; as no force is superior to the natives for irregular warfare in New Zealand, and their loyalty is beyond suspicion. Only a small section of the natives had joined Heki, his followers being limited

to the Gnapui tribe, who at one time were very powerful, being the first of the natives who, under the celebrated chief and warrior, Shonghi, had obtained muskets and gunpowder. But now Heki could not muster more than 500 men, and his force never exceeded that number, while our ally at the Bay of Islands, the chief Nene Waka, could bring nearly as many men into the field as Johnny Heki, and these were men who from that time till the present have never swerved in their loyalty.

Under such circumstances Heki had the penetration to understand where his strength lay, and how it could be employed to the greatest advantage. He was satisfied that he could not resist our forces in the open field, and his sagacity pointed out to him the only method in which he could have a chance to hold out against us. He was just intelligent enough to observe that our arms were only muskets, very similar to his own, and was totally ignorant of the power of artillery; he therefore considered that he was safe in adopting a defensive plan in his operations, and with sound common sense employed his people in building a pah or fort, in a remote and advantageous position, in order to effect their escape if necessary. Having selected a convenient spot for this purpose, they set to work; and in their simple style of warfare took all measures which their skill could suggest to prepare for its defence.

The skill and science displayed by the Maories in the construction of a pah, cannot be excelled by civilised engineers, and the expeditious and effective manner in which they erect palisades, dig a ditch, throw up ramparts, and honeycomb the ground into rifle pits, is quite marvellous. Everyone may have

observed how active and busy bees appear around a bee-hive or skep, when engaged on a fine day in their labour, and what a picture of energy and industry is exhibited by ants in conducting their operations in the vicinity of an ant hill; but neither bees nor ants surpass in indefatigable vigour, force, and perseverance, the Maories when they set to work *con amore* to build a pah. On such occasions, the method of conducting their operations forcibly reminds us of Virgil's unrivalled and beautiful passage in the first book of the Æneid, in which he describes the zeal, skill, and enterprise displayed by Queen Dido and her people in building Carthage, and constructing works of defence; a scene which appeared so attractive and interesting to Æneas and his companions, when they visited that place in their flight and voyage to Italy, after the fall and destruction of Troy.

In the hasty retreat of our forces from their position in front of Heki's pah, the Maories fortunately did not venture to attack them. It is probable that the loss they had sustained in their combat with M'Lerie and his gallant fellows, had convinced them of our superiority in the open field. Heki, however, deemed it prudent to remove to a stronger position, and therefore selected a site for a pah at Ohaiawai, in order to be prepared for us, as he rightly anticipated that we were making every effort to collect a large force to attack him.

At this time the condition of the colony, both north and south, was truly deplorable. Every class experienced hardships and privations, and it was only that stubborn enduring spirit which is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race which enabled the colonists

to hold together amidst such disasters and difficulties, and persevere in the attempt to found settlements. The great resources of the New Zealand Company were nearly exhausted, and in the south the pressure arising from restricted funds, as well as from the hostility of the natives, had reduced the condition of every one to a state bordering on actual suffering. Affairs in the north were still more depressed, and the colonists there were reduced to a condition of barter, as the coins of the realm, like the wealth referred to in Scripture, had taken wings and had flown away. I remember the great Waikato chief, Te Whero Whero, in one of his visits to Auckland, remarking to me, 'I believe you Pakias are a great nation, but there is one thing I cannot understand: how it is that the queen won't give the governor money.' Now here was an old chief utterly ignorant of the principles of political economy, but who from native sagacity discerned that money was power; and the circumstance of the governor being left without money, as he believed by the queen, impaired his confidence in the Government, and weakened his faith in our supremacy. The old chief said, 'I can foresee that Johnny Heki will be beaten and an end put to the war; but without money the queen can never govern the Maories, and hold the country.'

By their great parliamentary influence the New Zealand Company had, however, prevailed on the Imperial Government to withhold all pecuniary aid from New Zealand, as they hoped by such means to prevent the colonial Government from buying native lands, and so becoming not only the exclusive colonising power, but the supreme authority in the administration of public affairs.

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The fame of Johnny Heki's success in resisting our forces had now travelled over all the neighbouring colonies and assistance was received from many places. Major Wilmot, R.A., arrived from Hobart Town, where his father, Sir Eardley Wilmot, was then residing as governor of Tasmania. This officer will be long remembered in New Zealand, as he was distinguished for intelligence, science, and gallantry. At that time he was attached to the Imperial forces, but not serving with the staff of the colonial troops, he therefore offered his services as a volunteer, and, as he had brought with him two old guns, six-pounders, his services as well as the guns were very acceptable. On every occasion during the war, Major Wilmot's conduct was conspicuous for skill and bravery; and some years afterwards, when the intelligence reached New Zealand of his being killed in action at the Cape, universal regret was expressed for his early death. Among the many officers who served in the colony, not one of them, in those qualities which distinguish the gallant soldier and accomplished gentleman, excelled the noble-hearted, talented, and intrepid Lieut.-Col. Wilmot.

In those times of emergency, the zeal, energy, and administrative ability of Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, rendered him conspicuous, and the expeditious manner in which he despatched troops and munitions of war to our assistance will be long remembered by the colonists. As soon, therefore, as the failure of Lieut.-Col. Hulme's expedition was known in Sydney, Colonel Despard, at that time in command of the 99th Regiment, was appointed colonel on the staff, and despatched forthwith to take command of the

troops in New Zealand. This officer arrived in Auckland as early as practicable, accompanied by his staff and an additional reinforcement of troops, consisting of 200 men of his own regiment. The force now at the disposal of the governor consisted of the headquarters 58th Regiment, detachments of the 96th and 99th Regiments, a few sappers, and Major Wilmot with his two guns; forming all told, including a small party of Auckland Militia, a field force of 800 men. Colonel Despard was a good and gallant soldier, his regiment a model of discipline, and its appearance on parade a picture of efficiency, but he had no pretensions to skill or science in war. The expedition to the north was despatched in good order and in excellent condition, accompanied by three ships of war. The troops were landed at the Bay of Islands, and, accompanied by a reinforcement of loyal natives under the chief Nene Waka, advanced about fifteen miles inland without experiencing interruption of any kind from the natives. Our forces proceeded to Ohaiawai, where Heki had built his pah, and as the Maories had no other arms than muskets, our troops approached unmolested by the enemy, and took up a position within 300 or 400 yards of the pah, on a small knoll or rising ground, commanding a view of the enemy's fort and neighbourhood. The country was open, except on the side where the pah was situated, which partly bordered on a wood. The ground between the two positions was level, or undulating, but covered with tall fern, and intersected by a small stream on one side, which supplied the pah with water. The period of the year was midwinter, but even in this season the temperature is mild and inclemency of the weather does not inter-

rupt operations in the field; the only inconvenience experienced was from the rain, which in that season usually falls frequently and often in torrents. No circumstances were however allowed to retard the progress of the gallant colonel, who was resolved immediately to attack Heki and extinguish the insurrection. He was now face to face with the enemy, and he must be allowed the highest praise for the expeditious manner in which he had brought his force to their position. He was high in hope, as he had experienced no difficulties, apprehended no danger, and anticipated an early and complete defeat of the Maories, with the prospect of an immediate return in triumph to Sydney with the troops.

Major Wilmot, R.A., was therefore ordered to commence firing on the pah with his guns in order to make a breach in its palisades, but this operation was found, from the strength of the works, to be more difficult than was anticipated, and, from the small size and limited number of the guns, tedious if not impracticable; under such circumstances the colonel in command became impatient, then irritated, and would hear of no further delay. In this state of mind he ordered the pah to be attacked by the troops; Major Wilmot informed him there was no breach as yet practicable for troops to enter. The storming party was however told off, and a reserve force was held ready to co-operate in case of necessity. The chief Nene Waka and our native allies looked on in amazement at this proceeding and foretold its failure.

Major Macpherson, 99th Regiment, was in command of the storming party, accompanied by Lieutenant Phillpotts, R.N., with a party of sailors and marines

provided with ladders and axes, in order to attempt to force their way into the pah if no breach was practicable. The attacking column advanced with the usual intrepidity of British soldiers; the distance to the pah was short, but the glacis afforded no shelter, and when the cloud of smoke from the first irregular and rolling volley of the enemy within the pah cleared off, the ground in front of it was already covered with a number of our fallen, and Major Macpherson, the gallant leader of the column, had fallen severely wounded a short distance from the palisades. Lieutenant Beattie was found lying mortally wounded a few yards in advance of him; Phillpotts was killed close up to the pah, when attempting to force his way through the barricades, and Captain Grant, 58th Regiment, fell just as he reached them. In a very few minutes, eighty-five men had fallen, thirty-five of whom were killed. Safe behind the palisades the Maories had waited our approach; and when the column advanced within a short distance of them, the first rolling volley from their double-barrelled guns loaded with ball was irresistible. It was impossible under such circumstances for our troops to enter the pah; there was no breach, and it was surrounded by two rows of palisades ten feet high, the intervening space betwixt the rows being divided into compartments in such a manner as to prevent any one ever getting out, if they had succeeded in getting over the first line. As we had no artillery to batter down such defences, the only effective method would have been to run a sap up to the palisades, and blow them up with gunpowder. After the storming party had retired, Lieut.-Col. Hulme with the reserve was ordered to advance

in order to gather up and remove from the field the wounded and dead, which service was performed unmolested by the enemy.

The Maories in the pah expressed much regret for the death of Lieutenant Phillpotts, as he was well known to them, and they would have spared him if he had not shown such a determination to break through the palisades. His career was that of a brave man, and his gallantry fascinated the Maories. He was a son of the late Bishop of Exeter, and his death was lamented by the colonists.

The failure of this attack convinced the colonel in command that the Maories understood where their strength lay. This system of defence, practised by brave and uncivilised people, exposes British troops to severe loss when led on in their hot blood and cold steel attacks, without skill and science in war. The failure of this attack was merely the result of a misconception of the relative powers, and protection, of the attacking and defending forces: both sides were armed alike; the one, however, was safe behind impassable barricades, while the other was exposed to the cool, concentrated aim and deadly fire of the enemy.

Our native allies were now employed to harass and impede the besieged in obtaining provisions and supplies, while Major Wilmot kept up a constant fire of shot and shell on the pah. This operation imposed on the enemy great labour and fatigue, in repairing the breaches made by our shot; while, at the same time, they were held in a state of constant dread of being attacked by our troops, at all hours of the day and night. Worn out and harassed, they at last, without our knowledge, abandoned the pah on a

dark night. When the fact was revealed the next morning, our troops walked in and took possession. Some time elapsed before it was known to what part of the country Heki had retired.

Governor FitzRoy's colonial career was now drawing to a conclusion, as he had received a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, advising him of his recall as governor; he, therefore, from this period, remained inactive, and only held office until the arrival of his successor. Whatever may have been the divergence of opinions respecting Captain FitzRoy's policy, universal sympathy and regret were expressed for Mrs. FitzRoy, who has long since passed away to that mysterious and silent land —the undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns. Of all our Colonial Governors' wives she was the most gifted and graceful, being not only remarkably handsome, but from her easy and dignified behaviour, highly fascinating in society, and possessing that inexpressible charm, which distinguishes the refined, accomplished, and kind-hearted gentlewoman.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival of Sir George Grey as Governor—His capacity for Administration—Sketch of his ambitious Career—The Debentures issued by Governor FitzRoy taken up by Sir George Grey with Imperial Funds—The Governor joins the Head-quarters of the Forces in the North—Heki's pah at Ruapeckapecka invested by the Troops—Its fall, and Peace restored—Sir George Grey abolishes the System of direct purchase of Lands from the Natives by the Settlers—Character of the Governor at that Period—The Governor invites the great Chief, Te Whero Whero, to accompany him to the South—Hostilities there of short duration—Captain Stanley and Officers of H.M.S. 'Calliope'—Colonel Henderson, R.A.—Peaceful and industrious pursuits of the Natives—Lord Grey's first Constitution dissatisfactory—Protest against it by Bishop Selwyn and the Church of England Missionaries—Governor Grey persuades Lord Grey to suspend the introduction of his Constitution—Native Disturbance at Wanganui suppressed by Captain Laye—Rapid advance in Wealth and Population throughout the Colony—St. John's College—Bishop Selwyn—Bishop Pompallier—The Wesleyans—Reverend Mr. Buller—The Scotch—Friendly relations between the Colonists and Natives—Brief description how a Tour was made into the Interior at that Time—The Governor, Captain Grey, created a Knight of the Bath—The late Colonel and Captain Wakefield—Sir Charles Clifford, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Fitzherbert, Dr. Featherston, Mr. Fox, Sir David Munro, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, and the late Dr. Martin.

On November 14, 1845, Sir George Grey arrived at Auckland as successor to Captain FitzRoy in the government of New Zealand. While a young man,

Sir George Grey had explored an unknown tract of territory in Australia, lying betwixt Adelaide and the Swan River settlements, and had written a sketch of his journey, in which he suggested and described a system of policy, considered to be well adapted for ameliorating the condition of the aborigines of that country. He dedicated this book to Lord Glenelg, at that time Colonial Minister. The work was favourably received, and very shortly after its publication Captain Grey was appointed Governor of South Australia. He was then selected to occupy the important post of administering the affairs of New Zealand, in a period of difficulty and emergency, and a ship of war was despatched from India in order to take him as early as possible to his destination. Sir George Grey is a man with abilities of a high order, his capacity for administration undoubted, and if he had devoted his energies, faithfully and fearlessly, with justice and magnanimity, to the adjudication of the conflicting claims and affairs of the two races which he was sent to govern, he would have retired, after his long and eventful service in New Zealand, with the character of a great man, and the reputation of an enlightened statesman, instead of being viewed as merely successful in achieving personal distinction in an ambitious career.

The measures of his government in New Zealand were in many ways statesmanlike, but shaped and shaded with such strong tendencies to arbitrary power that their practical importance was impaired, and they failed to inspire confidence in either the Maories or the colonists.

Homer narrates that the god Apollo fell in love with Cassandra, the beautiful daughter of Priam

King of Troy, and in order to conciliate her favour, offered to confer upon her any gift worthy of a god to bestow. The beautiful girl, proud of having captivated the great Apollo, and conscious of her powers of fascination, asked her lover to endow her with the gift of prophecy, which he, to gratify her, accordingly bestowed. Having obtained this gift, the youthful and lovely girl, like a petted beauty presuming on her attractions, displayed her caprice by jilting the amorous god, who, in revenge, and as a punishment for her perfidy, rendered her gift of propheoy worthless, by adding to it the condition that everything she said should be disbelieved.

In such like manner Sir George Grey must have offended, in some way or other, the deity who had bestowed such a high order of gifts upon him, and, in order to punish him for his transgressions, then rendered them comparatively ineffective, by casting over all his acts a shadow of suspicion, and raising the spectre of distrust, which haunted all his policy and measures, and caused that want of confidence with which they were regarded by the people of both races. Still he was an accomplished statesman, a man of mark, whose mind,

> Whose fires,
> True genius kindles and fair fame inspires;
> Blest with each talent and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live with ease.
> Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
> Bear, like the Turk, no rival near his throne,
> Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
> And sit attentive to his own applause?

These lines well characterise Sir George Grey's long and eventful administration in New Zealand.

Like Cardinal Wolsey, in the famous character drawn of him by Shakespeare, he was in the habit of 'making his own opinion his law,' and to such an extent was this mental idiosyncrasy sometimes displayed, that it bordered on absurdity, reminding some of us forcibly of Lord Lauderdale's well known maxim, 'Show me the man and I'll show you the law.'[1] While his great abilities as a writer of despatches and State papers imparted a fascinating character, and a rose-coloured hue, to his proceedings, in a dependency lying at that distance 'which lends enchantment to the view.'

When Sir George Grey arrived in New Zealand, he found that the Maories had begun 'to pale their ineffectual fires' before the power and endurance of British troops, and although they had experienced no defeat of importance, still the loss they had sustained at the storming of Russell, and in their encounter with M'Lerie, convinced them that they were no match for us in arms. The daily, I may say hourly, harassment to which they were exposed by our system of conducting military operations, had completely worn out their strength and endurance. From this cause, as well as from that want of discipline and organisation which characterises the warfare of all uncivilised people, the insurrection had in a great measure lost its vigour. Heki, after deserting his pah at Ohaiawai, removed his followers to Ruapeckapecka, where he commenced building

[1] Lauderdale was endowed with great abilities and force of character, which had been hereditary in his family for generations. He was one of the five members of the famous 'Cabal' Ministry; and he ruled Scotland with unrelenting rigour and absolute sway, in the time of Charles the Second.

another fort on a spot which he deemed inaccessible, and secure from all our attacks.

The new governor, after a short stay at Auckland, proceeded to the north in order to quench the expiring embers of the insurrection, but previous to his departure he made arrangements for taking up the debentures in circulation with Imperial funds, as he had received from the Lords of the Treasury authority to obtain from the commissariat any amount of treasure he might require in conducting the government. Possessed of such authority, and provided with ample funds, he saw the difficulties hitherto experienced in administering the affairs of the colony disappear like winter snows at the approach of summer.

Our forces being left without an enemy at Ohaiawai, returned to the Bay of Islands, where Colonel Despard was informed that the chief Johnny Heki had commenced building a pah at Ruapeckapecka, a remote and almost inaccessible position, about eleven miles from that place, but it was impossible for our troops to advance and invest this post, without in the first instance cutting a pathway through the forest, which was as dense and intricate as an Indian jungle. In the meantime he had received various reinforcements. Lieut.-Col. Wynyard, with the remainder of the 58th Regiment, arrived, two additional ships of war were sent, and the new governor, Sir George Grey, likewise made his appearance at head-quarters. There was now a field force at the governor's disposal, amounting, with the sailors and marines, to fifteen hundred men. Our troops advanced and invested the enemy's pah, and Major Wilmot commenced firing upon it, without however

making a breach in the defences. The colonel in command contemplated another assault, but early on Sunday morning, January 11th, 1846, while the Maories were engaged at prayers, the palisades at one entrance were left undefended; our troops therefore marched in, and drove the enemy out of their pah, exemplifying, that in war as well as in many other affairs, the unforeseen event is sure to occur and lead to important results. On this occasion our loss was extremely slight. The enemy lost a few men, but did not suffer severely.

The two chiefs, Heki and Kaweti, with their followers, soon after sent to the governor, offering terms of peace and submission. Sir George Grey behaved in a generous manner to the simple and gallant Maories. In the first instance he confiscated their territory, but shortly afterwards restored it to them; this was sound and judicious policy, and was not thrown away, for this tribe, the Gnapui, one of the most numerous and warlike in the country, have continued ever since to be distinguished for their loyalty and allegiance to the Government.

The governor remained a short time at Auckland before proceeding to Wellington, to quell the spirit of insurrection which had manifested itself in the south ever since our unfortunate defeat at the Wairau. Before his departure, however, he abolished the system of direct purchase of lands from the natives by the colonists, which had been introduced so successfully in the north by his predecessor. This false step in his policy was no doubt taken with the view of conciliating, by a peace-offering to their cupidity, the New Zealand Company, whose influence, although on the wane, was still great in England. As they had always denied

the claims of the natives to the rights of British subjects, I am satisfied that he supported them in this measure in opposition to his judgment; but Sir George Grey was then an ambitious young man, resolved 'to climb the steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar,' and in order to ingratiate himself with this powerful company, he forsook the right and adopted the expedient in his policy.

The company at that time owned a considerable extent of territory, and the exclusion of the natives from the field of competition in the sale of lands, was an important object gained. Governor FitzRoy's aim was to abolish the disgraceful land-jobbing monopoly carried on both by the company and Government, in order to establish a just and sound system of policy, and at the same time to act fairly towards the natives. Sir George Grey's object was to re-establish both, and conciliate the natives by a system of gifts and presents out of funds drawn from the Imperial Treasury in the first instance, and subsequently from colonial revenues. This was merely postponing the settlement of the question, instead of grappling with it in a statesmanlike manner.

The Government then was as completely despotic as can be imagined, and the governor was in the habit of quoting, much to the amusement of some of us, Carlyle's theory of a pure despotism, as the best of all systems of colonial government. He therefore held in his hands, for a time, for good or for evil, the destiny of the colony; but he was not a believer in the maxim that nothing is politically right that is morally wrong, and trusted to cleverness and expediency, instead of erecting his system of policy on the principle and basis of fair play and justice to both

races. His policy laid the foundation for the subsequent wars in New Zealand, although during his first tenure of office he made everything pleasant to the Government, the company, and the natives. It was, however, a policy which could not last, as it was simply founded on expediency and personal influence, and was of the 'Après moi le déluge' character.

The governor invited the great chief Te Whero Whero to accompany him to the south. This chief had the reputation of being the greatest warrior in New Zealand, and some years previously had conquered the tribes which had now risen in rebellion against the Government. The war in the south was, however, of short duration, as our troops had now acquired experience in the field, as well as in the mountain and forest warfare peculiar to New Zealand. Frequent skirmishes took place, and occasionally we suffered rather severely, but the skill and gallantry of our troops were irresistible, and the capture by stratagem of Te Rauparaha, a notorious intriguing chief, on July 24, 1846, terminated hostilities, and completed the subjugation of the insurgent natives in the south, who, like sensible fellows, quietly submitted to our supremacy.

Conspicuous for gallantry and indefatigable activity, was Captain Stanley, with the officers and crew of Her Majesty's ship 'Calliope,' whose services contributed greatly to the success of our arms. All honour to those gallant sailors who did their duty nobly and well, although no '*Times* Commissioner' existed in those days to narrate their exploits and record their intrepidity. The services of Captain Henderson, R.A.,[1] will likewise be long remembered

[1] Now Colonel Henderson.

in New Zealand, as he was on all occasions distinguished for skill and gallantry, while his capacity for command was no less conspicuous.

The suppression of the insurrection being accomplished, the governor then went to work vigorously to arrange the various and complicated land claims of the New Zealand Company. This was no easy matter, as the natives in many instances stoutly maintained that they were still the rightful owners of much of the territory claimed by the company. The governor, however, lent his aid and influence to the company in the settlement of these disputes, and even advanced funds on behalf of the Government to buy out the natives in order to give the company undisputed possession of some valuable lands. At the same time he conducted himself in an extremely hostile manner towards all who had obtained land under Governor FitzRoy's direct purchase proclamations in the north, and although Lord Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, had instructed him in the most direct terms that all purchases sanctioned by his predecessor were to be respected, he nevertheless treated many of them not only arbitrarily, but absolutely with injustice. In the south he permitted the natives to lease their lands direct to the colonists, while in the north he not only prohibited such a system, but inflicted the full penalty of the law on all colonists who transgressed. In this manner, practically, Governor FitzRoy's system was sanctioned in the south, while the same system was prohibited in the north. In these measures, therefore, respecting the tenure of land, his policy was practically of that character which is indicated in Lord Lauderdale's maxim,

'Show me the man and I'll show you the law.' The old bitter rivalry between the company's settlements in the south, and the Government settlements in the north, still existed, but Sir George Grey, instead of acting justly and fairly towards both, cast his weight and influence, like the sword of Brennus, into one of the scales of the contending parties, and favoured the company and the south.

Many important and useful measures were enacted by the first Legislative Council held under the presidency of Sir George Grey in September 1846. No measures of policy could, however, be introduced or discussed except by the Government, which consequently restricted all legislation merely to the will and pleasure of the governor. This system afforded an opportunity to a clever man to display his abilities for administration, as well as his talents for debate, as he was his own Prime Minister, and Colonial Secretary, as well as governor. One peculiar feature of Sir George Grey's character was developed on this occasion, and distinguished him during his whole career. When any sound suggestions or practical observations were made by independent members, either in support of or in opposition to the Government, he never openly at the time accepted them, but on some future occasion he would adopt and embody them as his own, in measures introduced by himself. He displayed wonderful talent in seizing and appropriating the valuable information, original ideas, and practical views of others. He was not possessed of great intellectual powers, nor was he rich in original conceptions and ideas, nor distinguished for great force of character, but in the application to practical purposes of the knowledge and experience

of others, as well as in the faculty of observing and waiting the development of events, then attributing their natural operations to his personal interference, and claiming the whole as the meritorious result of his foresight and policy, he was unrivalled. In this respect he even surpassed the famous Charles Montagu, Whig statesman in William and Mary's time, who was styled the daw in borrowed plumes. I do not blame him for availing himself of the enlightened views and sound practical suggestions of others, as his conduct in this respect is highly exemplary, and worthy of imitation by all men placed in power and authority. Without impairing his fame, or exposing himself to the risk of sacrificing a single rose from the wreath in his chaplet, it would have been more magnanimous, would have shown more elevation of sentiment, if he had acknowledged and appreciated the intelligence of those to whom he was in some measure indebted for the success of his policy.

At this period he was eminently successful in conciliating the natives, if he did not inspire them with confidence in his measures. He made frequent tours through the country, visiting their pahs and villages, as well as receiving them at Government House on all occasions with the greatest hospitality and kindness. In this way he soon acquired a complete knowledge of their language and character, appreciated their display of patriotism, expressed a genuine pleasure in listening to their animated rehearsals of their traditions and legends, and was amused at the troubadour style in which they recited their ballads and poetry; while he stimulated them by every means to educate their young chiefs, and many of them attended our schools

and were fairly educated. At this time they could for the most part read and write their own language fluently, and of a party consisting of sixty-five Maories, who were employed in building the barrack wall at Auckland, sixty-four could write their own language, and sixty-five could read it.

They were now, except in a few instances, entirely denuded of arms and munitions of war, and the importation of such articles was prohibited, and ruinous penalties were inflicted by legislative enactment on all who violated this statutory law. From this circumstance they had in a great measure abandoned their warlike and predatory habits, but, as they were endowed with great energy of character, mental as well as physical, and aware of the great property they possessed in the country, were ambitious of maintaining that rank and distinction which they formerly held, they preferred a life of occupation to idleness and repose.

They were on all occasions anxious to imitate us in our pursuits and amusements, and were now animated with the laudable ambition to excel and compete with us, and share the prizes of colonial and civilised life. Indeed, by our example, and stimulated by a justifiable desire for wealth, they adopted and persevered in peaceful and industrious pursuits, became the possessors of numerous coasting vessels, which they navigated themselves, and cultivated their lands, growing and reaping their crops of grain, as well as planting, hoeing and digging their potatoes.

They employed our skilled mechanics to erect mills on their property, and were recompensed by the ability not only to supply themselves with food of

their own production, but to realise considerable sums by the sale of their surplus stock in our markets; while their *amour propre* was gratified in owning sheep, cattle, and horses. In all parts of the country, north and south, they often rode in troops, well mounted, from their villages to our towns and settlements, and at our race meetings would enter their horses, and sometimes succeed in winning the race and stakes. These habits and pursuits having been adopted, the country might with advantage have remained a Crown colony under a governor observing ordinary discretion and exercising prudent forbearance, undisturbed for some length of time. Under any circumstances, it would have been only just that previous to the introduction of constitutional and responsible government, the political condition, rights and privileges of the natives as British subjects, should be clearly defined by the Imperial Parliament.

The Mexicans and Peruvians, as well as the inhabitants of the continent of America, including those islands discovered by Columbus, fell an easy prey to the cupidity and rapacity of the Spaniards under Cortes and Pizarro, and England appears to have adopted the policy of those leaders; as ever since the time of Elizabeth, Englishmen have been held to justify the appropriation of remote lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. The Romans were in such affairs really more enlightened than we have been, as the inhabitants of every country they conquered were incorporated with the empire and became Roman citizens, 'Ubi vincit Romanus habitat.'

In this manner the empire was raised and built up to that pitch of greatness which to this day has

been the wonder and admiration of the world. Cavour and Bismarck, in their respective countries, have in modern times only crowned the policy of ancient Rome, and profiting by such an example, have succeeded in uniting and consolidating these hitherto fragmentary and rope-of-sand kingdoms, in this way reconstructing them into that power and grandeur which now distinguish the mighty empires of Italy and Germany of the present day. In India, however, as well as in every country where colonies have been founded by England, the aboriginal inhabitants had either been conquered or treated as a conquered race. New Zealand is the only exception to this rule. The Maori chiefs in good faith ceded the sovereignty of their country to the Queen, and in consideration she guaranteed to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

At this time Lord Grey was Colonial Minister, and with his enlightened views on all colonial questions, confirmed by Lord Durham's famous report on the affairs of Canada then ringing in his ears, he had introduced a bill into the Imperial Parliament to provide New Zealand with a constitutional and representative government. Some of the provisions of this charter were, however, not only framed expressly to exclude the natives from all political rights, but it contained a clause providing that all their unoccupied lands should be forfeited to the Crown.[1] The measure was consequently received in the colony by many influential people of both races with disappoint-

[1] This charter provided that no person should be capable of exercising the elective franchise who could not read and write the English language, when there was not a native who could do so, although most of them could read and write their own language fluently.

ment, dissatisfaction, and alarm. Amongst those who were dissatisfied were Bishop Selwyn and the Church of England missionaries, on behalf of the natives.

The following protest against the introduction of this charter was therefore sent to the governor by Bishop Selwyn, with the usual request that it should be forwarded to Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies :—

St. John's College, Bishop's Auckland, July 1st, 1847.

'May it please Your Excellency,—I, George Augustus, by Divine permission Bishop of New Zealand, on my own behalf, and on behalf of the clergymen of this diocese, employed by Captain Hobson to interpret and explain the Treaty of Waitangi to the native chiefs of New Zealand, do hereby record my deliberate and formal protest against the principles expressed in a letter of instructions addressed by the Right Hon. the Earl Grey to your Excellency, bearing date Downing Street, December 23, 1846, to the effect that "The savage inhabitants of New Zealand have no right of property in land which they do not occupy, and which has remained unsubdued to the purposes of man."

'Against this doctrine I feel myself called upon to protest as the head of the missionary body, by whose influence and representations the native chiefs were induced to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, not one of whom would have consented to act as an agent of the British Government if the assurances given to them by Captain Hobson had not been directly contrary to the principles now avowed by the Right Hon. the Earl Grey. It is my duty also to inform your Excellency, that I am resolved, God being my

helper, to use all legal and constitutional measures befitting my station, to inform the natives of New Zealand of their rights and privileges as British subjects, and to assist them in asserting and maintaining them, whether by petition to the Imperial Parliament, or other loyal or peaceful methods, but that in so doing I shall not forget the respect which I owe to your Excellency, nor do anything which can be considered likely to add to the difficulties of the colony.

'I have further to request that this communication may be forwarded to the Right Hon. the Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, with whom I am privileged to communicate through your Excellency. I have, &c.

'G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

'His Excellency, Captain Grey, &c., &c., &c.'

This protest is no doubt sufficiently vehement in its character, the language forcible and expressive, and perhaps more characteristic of the high prerogative style of the ancient popes Hildebrand and Nicholas Breakspear, than of that of an English prelate of the middle of the nineteenth century. When, among other papers, it was laid before Parliament, some members of the House of Commons viewed several passages in it, more particularly the old prelatical expression of 'God being my helper,' as very strong, if not insolent, and were disposed to exclaim, like the old Duke of Gloster in Shakspeare, 'Under my feet I stamp thy cardinal's hat, in spite of pope or dignities of Church.' Still it is justifiable when used in defence of an inferior and interesting

race, threatened by England, mighty England, with injustice and oppression.

At the same time Sir George Grey not only considered the introduction of such a measure as altogether premature, but condemned in distinct and unequivocal terms that portion of it which ignored the claims of the natives to the rights of British subjects, and despoiled them of their lands. He therefore succeeded in prevailing on Lord Grey to suspend for a time the introduction of this charter, if not in convincing him of the prudence of abandoning it altogether.

All honour is therefore due to Earl Grey for suspending its introduction, on being made aware of the injustice of some of its provisions to the natives, as no one could suppose that he would intentionally disfranchise and oppress them after they had ceded the sovereignty of their country to the Queen upon the express stipulation that they were to be entitled to all the rights of British subjects.

The following extracts from Sir George Grey's despatches to Earl Grey in reference to this measure convey such a lucid and faithful sketch of the condition and character of the natives at that period as to induce me to quote them.

Extracts of a despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, dated

'Government House, Auckland, May 3, 1847.

'Before stating the reasons on which these views are founded, I think it proper to mention that Her Majesty's native subjects in this country will certainly be exceedingly indignant at finding that they are placed in a position of inferiority to the European

population. They will undoubtedly argue, as they now frequently do, that they not only cheerfully ceded the sovereignty of the country to the Queen, but that when attempts have been made, by some discontented tribes, to throw off the sovereignty of Great Britain, and that at a period when, from the smallness of the British force in the country, they had apparently some hopes of success, the principal chiefs came forward, and freely gave the services of themselves and their people, and shed their blood in assisting to maintain for Her Majesty that sovereignty which they had yielded to her.

'Then it must be borne in mind, that the great majority of the native population can all read and write their own language fluently, that they are a people quite equal in natural sense and ability to the mass of the European population, that they are jealous and suspicious, that they now own many vessels, horses, and cattle, that they have in some instances considerable sums of money at their disposal, and are altogether possessed of a great amount of property in the country, of the value of which they are fully aware; that there is no nation in the world more sensitive upon the subject of money matters, or the disposal of their property, and no people that I am acquainted with less likely to sit down quietly under what they may regard as injustice.

'At present the natives are quite satisfied with the form of government now existing, and as the chiefs have always ready access to the governor, and their representations are carefully heard and considered, they have practically a voice in the government, and of this they are well aware; but under the proposed

constitution they would lose their power, and the governor would lose his influence over them; in fact, the position of the two races would become wholly altered, and the governor would, I fear, lose that power which I do not see he could well dispense with in a country circumstanced as this.'

During this period of tranquillity and prosperity among all classes, including the natives, one of those incidental outrages characteristic of their condition as a fierce, and semi-barbarous race, occurred, and, but for the sound judgment and intrepidity of Captain Laye, 58th Regiment,[1] on the occasion, it would have involved the country in a formidable insurrection.

It is said that if you scratch a Russian you will find a Tartar, and without doubt if you scratch a New Zealander, you will find a savage. The disturbance originated in the circumstance of a midshipman of H.M.S. 'Calliope' having accidentally shot a native with a pistol. The wound being of a serious description, apprehensions were entertained of its proving fatal. The natives became excited, and it was found impossible to convince them that a deliberate attempt had not been made to murder their relation. In accordance with their former customs, and their thirst for retaliation when exasperated, they demanded that blood should be taken for blood. Whilst in this state of excitement, six of them attacked the house of Mr. Gilfillan, a settler living about six miles from the township of Wanganui. Mr. Gilfillan escaped slightly wounded, but his wife, daughter, and two sons were barbarously murdered by the infuriated natives. Some of our native allies went in pursuit of the murderers, and apprehended

[1] Now Colonel Laye, Deputy Judge Advocate General.

five of them, who were delivered to the officer in command of the detachment at Wanganui. This officer likewise held the appointment of civil resident magistrate, but as Captain Laye had only a small force under his command, 170 men all told, and was satisfied that the prisoners would be rescued by their friends if he attempted to forward them to Wellington, ninety miles distant, and that it would be impolitic to divide his small force, and forward them under an escort altogether insufficient, he resolved on his own responsibility to try them by military law, and make their immediate punishment a striking example of the inexorable justice and supremacy of our laws. An inquest was therefore held on the mutilated bodies of the Gilfillans, and the coroner and jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the prisoners. A court-martial was assembled immediately, consisting of seven officers: the prisoners, upon the clearest evidence, were found guilty. Four were sentenced to be hanged; but the fifth, a boy, was, in consideration of his youthful years, sentenced to be transported for life. The finding and sentence of the Court were confirmed by Captain Laye, and the murderers were accordingly hanged the following morning. In the meantime their friends and a number of dissatisfied natives, relying on the assurance of assistance from Rhangahaita, a notorious rebel chief, had assembled in large force in order to rescue the prisoners, and took possession of the hills surrounding the settlement. They attacked the stockade, and for five hours kept up an incessant fire on the place, but eventually were, in the most gallant manner, repulsed and driven off with considerable loss by the detachment of the

58th Regiment, aided by a few armed settlers. In this manner the sound judgment and intrepid behaviour of Captain Laye dispirited the natives, and impaired the force of the insurrection. In a few weeks, as the natives were really sensible fellows, peace was restored.

Captain Laye's behaviour in this crisis evinced the possession of high qualities, valuable in a soldier, namely, a capacity for command as well as intrepidity in action. It showed him to be one of those characters which rise with the occasion, acquiring force in emergency, and never more collected than when stimulated and confronted with difficulties and dangers. Sir George Grey, in a despatch to Earl Grey respecting this disturbance, appears to have appreciated Captain Laye's conduct. 'I should add, however,' he writes, 'that the speedy and satisfactory termination of these disturbances must be in a great measure attributed to the firm and vigorous manner in which Captain Laye acted;' and in another despatch he remarks, 'There is every reason to suppose that, had Captain Laye not acted in the firm and decided manner he did, a much more formidable and lengthened rebellion might have ensued in the southern portion of the island.'

And Lord Grey, in reply, writes to Governor Grey in reference to this affair:

'I have it especially in command to assure you of the sense which Her Majesty entertains of the firmness with which Captain Laye acted upon the occasion of the attack of the natives on the town of Wanganui, and of the gallant conduct of himself and detachment under his orders.'

The colony in all the settlements now made rapid

advance in wealth and population, and the south was distinguished for the enterprise and success of the colonists, and now began to take the lead of the northern settlements in the growth of wool and production of grain, which it has maintained ever since. The fine climate and abundant pastures of the Hawke's Bay district had attracted numerous settlers, while the Nelson settlement in the South Island, having recovered from the sad disaster at the Wairau, was making rapid progress, not only in pastoral pursuits but in agriculture. Enterprising colonists even found their way further south, to the remote settlement of Otago, hitherto viewed as the Ultima Thule of the colony, where only a few whalers and sealers had formerly taken up their residence. The quality of the Port Cooper cheese was already famous, not only in New Zealand but in Australia. If the power of the New Zealand Company had been broken in the struggle with the Government, the mantle of their enterprise had fallen on the colonists, who from that day to this have never faltered in their colonising spirit, amidst unparalleled disasters and difficulties.

In the north, at Auckland, which was still the seat of government, a greater degree of security was afforded by the introduction from England of a considerable number of military pensioners, with their families, who were located in villages round, on sites selected as salient points of defence, so as to afford complete protection to the settlement. Law and order were established on a firm basis, and life and property rendered as secure as in any part of England, and in a short time the country within a radius of ten miles was enclosed, partitioned and cultivated, abounding

in parks, corn-fields and gardens, as well as studded with villas and hamlets.

The head-quarters of the 58th Regiment had likewise returned to New Zealand, and there were now two regiments stationed in the country, one in the north and the other in the south. In order to complete the military arrangements, New Zealand was erected into a separate command, and Major-General George Dean Pitt, K.H., was sent from England with a head-quarters staff, to take command of all the forces in the colony.

At this time, St. John's College, situated about six miles from Auckland, and where Bishop Selwyn resided, was a place of interest and attraction. With private funds the Bishop had purchased many hundred acres of land, and in a rather bleak but conspicuous situation had built the college, where a number of boys of both races, the sons of colonists and of Maori chiefs, were domiciled and educated. The Bishop's residence, unpretending in appearance, with few comforts—among them his library—was built of stone, but there were erected, in an irregular manner, numerous detached wooden buildings, for the accommodation of the masters and scholars, as well as for the convenience of all attached to the establishment. These were built in the Gothic style, with traceried windows, and included a small chapel, ecclesiastical in structure and sacerdotal in character, but in good taste, inclining in the direction of, although not advancing too far in, the High Church style, where all assembled every morning at seven o'clock to prayers, including the Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn.

The aspect of this cluster of buildings, from the

Gothic style of architecture, the traceried windows, gables and pinnacles, cloisters and stiles, was Middle Age and abbey-like, and from its monastic repose highly ecclesiastical and characteristic. Around this collection of dwellings was the college demesne or farm, where cattle, sheep, and poultry were seen grazing undisturbed in profuse and luxuriant pastures. The aspect of an English rural landscape was about the place, indicating primitive comfort and abundance. Situated on an eminence, it looked down on a scene as fair as can well be imagined. On one side the Gulf of Shouraki, studded with islands, was displayed in all its captivating loveliness; and although the college was situated in a secluded spot, not a ship or vessel of any kind could arrive or depart from the Auckland harbour without being observed. On the other side the view extended over the whole Isthmus, to the shores of the west coast, including the numerous villages and hamlets, volcanic hills, woods, lakes, and streams in the Auckland district, forming a diversified and magnificent landscape.

In those primitive times, the Bishop was hospitable to all in a simple and cordial style. He was then young, full of life, vigorous and hopeful, and if his views and performances were of a too feudal and traditional Middle Age type to harmonise with the toils and struggles of our every-day life, he was animated with the fervour of religion, as well as with a sentiment of chivalry, which united with his indefatigable and self-imposed labours to make him highly esteemed by both races. And he may perhaps look back to those early days of action, exertion, and humble though dignified toil, as not the least happy period of his life, although he is now a spiritual peer of parlia-

ment, clothed in purple and fine linen, and lodged in a palace.

The Roman Catholic prelate, Bishop Pompallier, a Frenchman, who had been in early life an officer in a dragoon regiment, was courteous and well-bred, after the fashion of his countrymen. Cosmopolitan in manners, sacerdotal in appearance, faithful to his order, and a devoted servant to the Church and his Holiness the Pope, he was the first of all our bishops who resided in the colony, having been in New Zealand before it became British territory.

In the colony the Catholics are numerous as well as influential, and in that distant land, far away from the bigotry, prejudice, and religious strife prevailing in Europe, men in many instances reviling and hating their neighbour for the love of God, I have often, while maintaining in firmness and fidelity my own persuasion, been impressed with that sympathy and affection for the Catholic Church which every enlightened and unprejudiced mind must experience when reflecting on the many venerable and hallowed associations which distinguish the Church of our forefathers, more especially considering that in the dark ages, it was highly beneficial to mankind, and even at this day, it is hard to say whether England owes more to the Catholic religion or to the Reformation.

The Wesleyans had likewise built a college, a little more ambitious in style and perhaps a shade more practical in its management than the others. In the early times of New Zealand, the Wesleyan missionaries had contributed much to that civilisation which led the way to its settlement as a British dependency. Many of them were conspicuous for practical good

sense, and some displayed fair abilities, while the Rev. Mr. Buller is distinguished for talents and accomplishments that would compare not unfavourably with some of our English bishops.

The Scotch Presbyterians, at the same time, had performed their part in the cause of religion and education. They erected a capacious kirk in the Greek order of architecture, as they consider a church built in the Gothic style to be an emblem of popery. Scotchmen in all colonies are famous for 'bigging kirks,' but they always appear to do so as much from the sense of nationality as from zeal for religion.

The natives had likewise done their part, and with their own funds had built churches, as well as aided in erecting and establishing schools for the education of their children.

In this manner the two races were brought to live together in harmony and prosperity—the Englishman and New Zealander, the civilised man of the nineteenth century and the Maori lately emerged from a state of extreme barbarism, who were never viewed or treated, nor would submit to be treated, as a conquered race, and who, during the war in 1845-6, had joined with us in suppressing a formidable insurrection, freely giving their services and sacrificing their lives in maintaining the Queen's authority, and in support of that sovereignty which they had frankly bestowed on condition of receiving the rights of British subjects.

Some of the colonists may have been guilty of those faults from which civilised men who settle among the uncivilised are rarely entirely exempt, and that power which is based on superior intelligence may occasionally have been employed unworthily,

sometimes displayed with insolence or ignorance, and often with injustice, exhibiting the might of civilisation without its generosity. But in general, at least among the intelligent classes, the natives were treated fairly, not only with civility but with kindness; while on the other hand, the natives received the colonists with cordiality and hospitality. Although less crime existed among them than amongst ourselves, they were jealous of our superiority, and when provoked and excited were disposed to redress their wrongs in their old style of retaliation—revenge for injuries, blow for blow, and blood for blood. But while fire-arms and the munitions of war were kept out of their hands, there were no grounds to apprehend, under a Government acting with ordinary discretion and exercising common forbearance, that any disturbance could arise involving the country in a war of extermination between the Maories and the colonists; and at this period such was the confidence and security prevailing that the amalgamation of the two races appeared in a fair way to be peacefully and successfully realised.

I cannot describe in a more forcible manner the condition of friendship and security then existing than by quoting passages from a brief narrative written at the time of a tour which I made about that period into the interior. These extracts will at the same time show the primitive style in which such journeys were performed in those early days, and how a knowledge of the condition and character of the natives was obtained, as well as a familiarity with the geographical features of the country, and information respecting its natural history.

'Having engaged five intelligent Maories to ac-

company us as guides and carry our luggage, consisting of a small tent, carpet bag, a few cooking utensils, and a limited supply of provisions for our journey, the natives slung their pekaus on their shoulders, and set out for the Waikato. On the following day I left Auckland, and after a pleasant ride of twenty miles reached the inn at Papakura, the first stage in our journey, about sunset.

'The next morning we mounted our horses and took the path for Tuakau, a native settlement on the banks of the Waikato river. On leaving Papakura, we at once passed beyond the limits of European settlement and civilisation. From that place to Tuimata, the country is open and easily travelled on horseback. On the west, in the direction of Waihuku, the country at one time must have been heavily timbered, as the remains of forest trees are still to be seen. Immediately on the east appear the chain of hills which intersect this part of the country, with their sloping sides sweeping down to the plain, beautifully wooded and in appearance resembling the Derbyshire country.

'At some distance we observed the smoke of a native village curling above the trees, but the habitation of civilised man was nowhere to be seen. The native pah of Tuimata is a wretched-looking place with few inhabitants, and the situation in no way remarkable, except its convenience for wood and water, which is a *sine quâ non* in a Maori Kiangi. We halted here for a couple of hours, in order to give our natives some rest after their morning march. The old chief was hospitable and presented us with potatoes and water melons, and we dined by the side of a brook under the shade of a large tree, which

afforded convenient shelter from the scorching rays of a noonday sun.

'On resuming our journey we immediately entered a wood, through which the pathway leads, with the exception of one or two openings, for upwards of ten miles. This pathway is both narrow and crooked, and although easily travelled on foot, is not well adapted for horseback, for in addition to the trouble of keeping your horse as well as rider clear of trees and underwood, numerous ravines and streams have to be crossed, which renders this manner of travelling tedious and unpleasant. With some difficulty, and occasionally finding our horses floundering in quagmires, we made our way by swamp, stream, and woodland, and reached the open country before sunset, when we pulled up for a short time, in order to allow the natives, who had fallen behind, to overtake us. They soon after made their appearance, but sat down and refused to proceed further, as they alleged they were quite fatigued with their long march and heavy pekaus (knapsacks), and strongly urged the necessity of encamping for the night where we stood. The poor fellows had good grounds for complaining, and after an hour's ride through a fine and open country, intersected with numerous streams, we arrived at the native settlement of Tuakau, a little after sunset. Our natives were not far behind, and as soon as they arrived they unslung their pekaus, and made preparation for encampment. While one party was pitching our tent and making our beds of fern, another was kindling a fire, on which was placed the tea kettle. In half an hour after our arrival we were comfortably seated on a log of wood before a blazing wood fire, enjoying a good smoke and a pannikin of

warm tea. The Maories of the village came to look at the strangers, and we had a numerous party of men, women and children assembled round our fire, who continued talking and smoking long after we went to bed.

'We got up at daybreak the following morning. While the Maories were preparing breakfast, I strolled about the settlement and the adjoining demesne. The Maori Kiangi, or village, of Tuakau, is one of the poorest description, and, with the exception of its small enclosures of cultivated ground, is not superior to the encampment of a tribe of wandering gipsies so frequently to be seen in some of the remote places in England and Scotland. Its population is not numerous, and those we saw seemed of an inferior class. The country, however, is very fine, consisting of open fern glades with patches of wood.

'There was a dense fog hanging over the bed of the Waikato, which concealed it for some time from view, but as the morning advanced the fog cleared off, and I got a sight of the river through an opening of the wood on its banks, about a quarter of a mile distant. At this spot, and on the Tuakau side of the river, the country still retains the level and undulating English landscape character which is the distinguishing feature in its appearance from Auckland to the Waikato, with the exception that the greatest part of it is covered with woods and fern, and still in a state of nature. But a short distance below Tuakau, the aspect of the country is very much changed. The basin of the Waikato expands into a valley, the undulations swell into hills, clothed with the magnificent foliage of a New Zealand forest, extending to the banks of the river, and ascending the precipices, which, with the windings of the stream,

from two to three hundred yards broad, form one of the finest views of river scenery that it is possible to imagine. After breakfast we struck our tent, and proceeded to Rakuwaitiri, which is three miles above Tuakau. At this place we again reached the chain of hills we saw in the early part of our journey, which, after ranging regularly across the country, are terminated by bold cliffs on the northern shores of the Waikato. We crossed the river at this place, which is about one hundred yards in breadth, expecting to find a canoe prepared for our journey, but were much disappointed when informed that from some mistake it had not been provided, and there was none to be obtained. After some vexation and delay, we, however, procured one from some natives, who, fortunately for us, arrived just while we were deploring our fate. Everything was soon placed in order, and the passengers, consisting of five Maories and two Europeans, having taken their seats, the canoe was launched, and the Maories plying their paddles, we swept along on the smooth waters of the broad Waikato. In fine weather, it is pleasant travelling in a canoe, and the natives show great dexterity in navigating them. The canoes are scooped out of solid trees, and some of them are sixty, seventy, and eighty feet in length, but those of this large size are 'Wakatua,' or war canoes, and seldom used except on state occasions. These are capable of carrying from forty to fifty natives, and are invariably smeared over with a kind of red ochre, and handsomely ornamented with a profusion of sea-fowl feathers, hanging gracefully from a small pole three or four feet high, fixed in the prow, which is decorated with grotesque figures of men and animals.

The canoes are all made thick and strong at the bottom, and tapering to a point at the prow and stern, in order to give as little resistance to the water as possible, and when the breeze is favourable, sails as well as paddles are used in navigating them.

'Although the midcurrent of the Waikato below the confluence of the Waipa is easily withstood or overcome, and does not run more rapidly than from one to three miles an hour, and only at the latter rate in the bends and windings of the river, the natives, in order to avoid its influence, ascend along its banks, often so close as to admit of their leaping on shore and into their canoes without stopping. In this way we ascended the river, rapidly or slowly, as the Maories were in humour, but an average speed of from three to four miles an hour could easily and without effort be maintained for any length of time. It may be observed, however, that the river at this season was rather low, but its ordinary bed was completely covered, and there appeared no indications of its being greatly below its average level. In our progress, at the bends and turnings of the river we occasionally met with shallows and sandbanks, which retarded us a little, as in such places the channel shifts from side to side, and the Maories had sometimes, although not often, to leap into the water and explore in order to find it out; but if the river were surveyed and properly marked out, a channel from two to three feet deep would be found for at least 130 miles, as large canoes, heavily loaded, and drawing three feet of water, are frequently navigated upwards of that distance in all seasons. I think, therefore, that a steamer drawing from two to two and a half feet, might easily

navigate the Waikato in all periods of the year. The river is comparatively free from snags and sunken trees, and the few impediments to navigation existing of this description are unimportant, and could be easily removed; but in no instance did we encounter, or even observe, floating timber or any obstacles in the character of driftwood. Above the confluence of the Waipa it is usually called the Horatu, from the name of that district, and here the current is strong and rapid, but much deeper and wholly clear of shallows and sandbanks.

'The breadth of the river, averaging from one hundred to one hundred and fifty, and extending in some of the reaches to three hundred yards, surprises a stranger, and this feature in its character is maintained throughout a great part of its course, being a hundred yards broad and very deep immediately above its confluence with the Waipa, which is from eighty to ninety miles distant from the sea by the course of the river. The Waikato, with its numerous tributary streams, must drain a considerable extent of country, which, however, can hardly account for its size; but the great Taupo lake, situated at a considerable elevation near the centre of the island, and in extent almost an inland sea, being twenty-five miles long and from ten to fifteen broad, is its alleged chief source. After leaving the lake, and flowing nearly two hundred miles through the finest portion of the island, intersecting in its course the extensive and fertile plains of the Waipa, and rendering available the inexhaustible coal-fields which for miles line its margin, the Waikato falls into the sea on the west coast about thirty miles south of the Manakau. The natives, however, with their love for the marvellous, deny that

Lake Taupo is the source of the Waikato, which is to be found, they allege, about twenty miles to the south of it, near Tongariro, a mountain seven thousand feet high, whose lofty summit is almost perpetually covered with snow. They describe the stream which flows from near the base of this mountain into Taupo as the Waikato, and say that its course, by a difference in temperature and colour, can easily be traced through the waters of the lake to the opposite side, and that the Waikato flows through Taupo in the same manner as the Rhone through the lake of Geneva. But this story requires confirmation. It is, however, not improbable that the melting of the snow on a mountain like Tongariro, which, in addition to its great height, is an active volcano, always smoking, and sometimes sending forth flames, may constantly feed and occasionally swell the lake and raise it above its level, thereby causing it to flow with greater rapidity into the channel of the Waikato, which on leaving the lake is upwards of thirty yards broad. The Maori story is, however, not to be despised, as they observe with accuracy any unusual occurrence in natural history.[1]

The Waikato is the largest river in New Zealand, and by the removal of some obstructions in its course, and the formation of a few locks, would be rendered navigable from Lake Taupo to the sea. There is, however, a bar at the entrance of the river, as in all the harbours on the west coast of New Zealand, which renders it available only for vessels of light draught.

In Maori songs and traditions the district of the

[1] The Maori story regarding the source of the Waikato has been confirmed and placed beyond doubt.

Waikato is celebrated for its fertility, numerous villages, and large population, as well as distinguished for the warlike character of its chiefs. The great Te Whero Whero is its acknowledged chief, but it is the home of many others of rank and authority.

'After paddling up the river for two or three hours we desired the natives to look out for a convenient spot for a dinner encampment, and they were not long in finding one. On such occasions the canoe is in the first place made fast to the river's bank, when the natives go on shore and commence operations by collecting fuel for a fire, which is soon kindled, and then begin to cook the viands. The bill of fare usually consists of potatoes, kumeras, and wild duck, all of which, except the kumeras, are obtained in great abundance, and may be called the indigenous fare of the Waikato. In addition, the Pakehas take care to furnish a supply of foreign luxuries, such as preserved meats and other good things, and tins of soup and salmon are at hand to vary the course, which is, however, seldom required. When the dinner waits, the Maories begin in native fashion, but the Pakehas provide themselves with knives and forks, and each is furnished with two tin pannikins, one as a plate and the other as a drinking cup. In fine weather, a dinner party on the banks of the river is a very pleasant affair, and relieves to a certain extent an excursion of this kind from its somewhat monotonous character. We were soon after in our canoe, and proceeded at our usual rate up the river until sunset, when we encamped for the night in an opening of the woods. Our night encampments were made in places affording shelter and fuel; and after pitching our tent and concluding the labours of the day, we sat talking

to the natives for a short time round their camp fire. We always went early to bed, the Pakehas to their tent and the Maories lying round the fire, or under a tree, wrapped up in their blankets.

'Soon after sunrise the following morning we were paddling up the river, and in passing a canoe moored to its banks, we observed a number of Maories assembled round a fire, who, like ourselves, appeared to have been encamped for the night in their journey up the river. We breakfasted on a pleasant spot, where a number of Maories had taken up their temporary residence—a kind of marine abode, I suppose, and they gave us some fruit which in taste and flavour resembled the juniper berry. They likewise pointed out to us a tree with flowers of different colours, some purple and some green. We encamped this evening at a place called "Randalls," where a person of that name resided, and who was styled by our natives a "Pakeha Maori." The Pakeha Maori is a specimen of a class which at one time were numerous in New Zealand, and in the early days of the settlement were frequently to be found in the Waikato district, but now are almost extinct. They were probably originally traders, but had become so accustomed to the native mode of living that they had lost all relish for any regular occupation, and preferred the freedom and independence of savage life to industry and civilisation. This class usually lived under the protection of some chief in native fashion, having a *wahine* for a wife, and a troop of half-caste children, who were all brought up as Maories.

'At the confluence of the Waipa with the Waikato the river is broad and deep, and although the current

is somewhat rapid there is not a ripple to be seen, and the surface of the uniting streams appears as smooth as if oil had been thrown over the mingling waters. The junction takes place at the extremity of an extensive table-land, terminating in a point and cliff, about twenty feet above the level of the rivers. The cliff is apparently of a permanent description, as it bears no marks of being worn away by the action of the two streams. This point commands the rivers, and a couple of field-pieces placed here could sweep the streams below and sink everything that approached it. The natives kept our canoe close to the opposite shore, on the left bank of the river, and then, ascending a little way above the confluence of the two streams, put about, and shooting boldly downwards across the deep, broad, and rapid current, entered the still waters of the Waipa; then, resting on their paddles, and raising their hoarse and loud voices, they shouted again and again, "Good-bye, Waikato." [1]

'The Waipa, for ten miles above its confluence with the Waikato, is twenty or thirty yards broad, having perpendicular banks covered with fern, open, without timber, and is deep and still as a canal. We entered the river at sunset and swept along its smooth waters at a rapid rate. We arrived at a native settlement shortly after dusk, and, making our canoe fast to a post, we climbed up its steep bank and were hos-

[1] The Maories attached great importance to this spot, and it was the seat of government of the Maori kings. When it was taken and confiscated after the war, the Government changed its name and called it New Castle. It is still, however, known by both races as 'Gnarawahia,' which is its descriptive appellation, and it is to be hoped the Government will confirm the good taste displayed by the people in wishing retain its ancient appropriate and beautiful name.

pitably received by the natives, who gave us a fire and a large basket of roasted potatoes, which were very acceptable to our native allies. In the early part of our journey we took to brandy to refresh us after being fatigued, but soon abandoned it, as we found tea a far more refreshing beverage on all occasions than spirits of any kind. The next day we ascended the river, which, except being partially wooded on its banks, varies little in appearance, and is from fifteen to twenty yards broad and of a good depth twenty-five miles from the Waikato. Its course is, however, very crooked, with innumerable bends, but without shoals and sandbanks, although there are more snags or sunken trees than in the Waikato. At the same time, it is perfectly available for steam navigation. The native population is considerable, and numerous kiangas, or villages, appear on its margin, but there is no pah of any importance, except Whata Whata, which is regularly fortified after Maori fashion, and must have been a formidable place in the fighting days of past times. We landed at that place and recognised the chief as an old acquaintance, whom we had formerly seen in some of his visits to Auckland. He received us with Maori hospitality, taking much pleasure in showing us over his fort and domain, and pointing out his plans of contemplated improvement, particularly the erection of a flour mill, which appeared to him to be a very important affair.

'The following morning we were early in our canoe, and reached the residence of Mr. Cowal, which is about forty miles by the course of the river from the Waikato.

'The Waipa plains consist of an extensive plateau,

or table-land, part of which is comprised in a delta, formed by the two navigable rivers, the Waikato and the Waipa. The plains are known by the general name of the Waipa, and consist of volcanic and alluvial lands, which in extent cannot be estimated at less than 1,000,000 acres, available either for pasture or cultivation, and not more than seventy miles from Auckland by compass. Mr. Cowal furnished us with horses, and in riding across the country we kept the usual bridle path over the plains, which was rather circuitous, and at one place in our journey, in order to avoid a large swamp, had to ascend some small hills at the base of Maungatautiri, from the highest of which we obtained a magnificent view of the country, and looked down on the plains below as on a map, dotted with native villages, interspersed with clumps of forests, and intersected with streams and rivers, which, in the brightness of the cloudless sunshine, glittered like fountains of liquid silver. Our view extended in one direction over the whole delta of the Waipa and Waikato, and towards the south-west, in the direction of the Mokau River, it was altogether unbroken, and bounded only by the horizon. We could not resist the attractions of this enchanting view, and passed away some time admiring the scene, but no language can adequately describe its incomparable beauty. Before we got to our journey's end it was long past sunset: there was a bright moon, however, which, along with our guide, showed us the pathway, and we arrived at the native settlement of Maungatautiri, wayworn and weary, although we had enjoyed our ride amazingly. The natives here were numerous—tall, powerful and handsome fellows, jaunty and independent in style, but

friendly and well disposed. We remained a day at this place, and experienced some difficulty in engaging a canoe to take us down the river, as the natives alleged it would take them three days in returning, as the current is strong and rapid. After leaving Maungatautiri, we soon reached the Waikato, where we found our canoe prepared and waiting for us, and mustered rather a strong party, numbering, besides three of our own natives, five new allies. Having the current with us, we descended the river easily, and soon arrived at the rapids. The natives informed us that in descending this part of the river, as it was considered rather dangerous, the Pakehas always left the canoe and walked down the banks; but we saw no danger, and told the natives if they were safe in the canoe we could run no risk, and remained. When we approached the rapids, two natives took their places at the stern of the canoe with a long paddle, in order to steer with firmness, and as soon as we began to descend, the natives plied their paddles with great vigour and effect, and the steersmen keeping the canoe steady in the descent we shot down with great swiftness, covered with foam and spray, but were soon in safety in smooth water. In like manner we passed down two similar rapids. These rapids, although not of a formidable character, yet require dexterity in handling a canoe, in order to ensure safety in making the descent. After clearing the rapids, we glided swiftly down the stream, and arriving at a landing-place, which our new allies represented to be a convenient spot for a dinner encampment, we landed, and while the natives were employed in their cooking operations, we strolled

about the country, which in every direction appeared level and fine, as well as of great extent.

'On resuming our journey, the natives made up for their delay on shore, and the eight stalwart fellows exerted themselves, and bending to their paddles swept down the stream in gallant style for a couple of hours, at the rate of not less than from twelve to fifteen miles an hour. In this part the Waikato is much deeper than below its confluence with the Waipa, in some places nearly as broad, and is navigable for thirty or forty miles above the junction of the two rivers. The natives continued to ply their paddles until we arrived at Kaitotohe, a little after sunset, where we found our two natives, who had faithfully returned with our canoe and the heavy baggage, which we had left under their charge near the source of the Waipa.' [1]

The Governor, Captain Grey, who in the order of things which had sprung from the disturbed condition of New Zealand had become distinguished, was created a Knight of the Bath. Unaided by the advantages of high birth or family influence, he was at this early period of his life thus rewarded for his meritorious services, and deservedly stood high in public estimation. I was present as a spectator at the ceremony of his installation, which took place on the lawn in front of Government House, in presence of a large party of ladies, a great number of civilians,

[1] The country described in this tour has now been settled and occupied by a European population, while that portion of it from Auckland to the Waikato is already covered with villages and homesteads, and the railway now in progress will soon be completed. More than one steamer runs on the Waikato and Waipa, and the district is becoming rapidly peopled, while its natural advantages are turned to the best account by the introduction of all the arts of civilised life.

all the military, and many of the Maori chiefs, who viewed the ceremony with characteristic gravity and dignified demeanour. A great change has taken place in the appearance and condition of the country since that time. Auckland was then a straggling village, the country around it partially enclosed and half-cultivated, with here and there a native *wharie*, where numbers of half-clad Maories frequently assembled. New Zealand was in those days a remote dependency, with uncertain and unfrequent communication with the mother country, a land of noble savages, and the youngest, although not the least important, of England's colonies.

Auckland has now grown into a large commercial town, with a harbour crowded with shipping, the markets swarming with buyers and sellers, and the streets thronged with people engaged in business or pleasure. In the neighbourhood, numerous villas, surrounded with lawns, gardens and vineyards, accompanied by all the arts of refined life, meet the view in every direction. There is now direct steam communication with England twice a month.

There were some circumstances connected with this ceremony which rendered it more than usually attractive. Sir George Grey at that time was not only the youngest knight, but the most youthful man of the Order, and had won his spurs by his own merit and personal achievement. He was then ambitious and self-reliant, his career successful and brilliant, and he appeared justly proud of this mark of royal approbation, as well he might be, for it had fallen to the lot of few men at his years to be created Knight of the Bath. When the pomp and pageantry were over, and after he had received the congratula-

tions of his friends, and the applause of the spectators, I observed his wife, then young and beautiful, select a quiet opportunity to take the hand of her new-made knight, and wish him joy of his honours, which appeared not the least touching part of the ceremony.

In State affairs, when matters go wrong and a country sinks into anarchy and confusion through misgovernment, Englishmen in every age have been zealous to appreciate merit and confer distinctions and honours on those engaged in *la carrière ouverte aux talents*, and who have been successful in reducing chaos to order, establishing peace, and restoring confidence and prosperity. And unless some gross outrage or violation of the law has been committed in performing such services, they do not enquire too minutely by what means the evils have been extinguished, or how such a condition of harmony has been achieved. It is enough for them to know that a state of confusion and suffering had existed, that it disappeared, and they are only too glad to learn that security and tranquillity once more prevail. The great mass of the people are usually satisfied with a state of prosperity, and in quelling an insurrection like that in New Zealand, they are not disposed to criticise too severely the measures, or find fault with the remedy, which have led to results so satisfactory. If such a standard of policy approach closely to the verge of that vulgar test of merit, success, and the boundary which separates expediency from principle may appear too narrow, it must be allowed that sometimes practically in political matters 'thin partitions do their bounds divide,' but it is often the view which guides statesmen

in the administration of public affairs. If these opinions prevail in reference to such matters in England, they are applied in far greater force when the condition of a distant colony like New Zealand is brought under consideration, and English statesmen can then only judge of the policy or impolicy of measures by the result. Although Sir George Grey's career had sometimes exposed him to criticism, censure, and even to strong condemnation, still his administration of the affairs of the colony was direct and forcible, if not always judicious and magnanimous, and the result, compared with the past, was a great and successful achievement.

Among the early colonists there were many accomplished gentlemen distinguished for intelligence and enterprise, who, from having been exposed from time to time to all the perils and vicissitudes of New Zealand colonisation, had acquired great experience and knowledge in its State affairs, and the characters of some of the present colonial representative men were formed and developed in those stirring and eventful times. In noticing these men, Colonel William Wakefield and Captain Arthur Wakefield, who represented the New Zealand Company, although long since passed away, cannot be forgotten, as they were remarkable for their practical talents and good sense. At that time, Sir Charles Clifford, the first Speaker of the General Assembly, as well as Mr. Stafford, Mr. Fitzherbert, Dr. Featherston and Mr. Fox, had distinguished themselves in colonial politics, and Sir David Munro at that early period was remarkable for his refined and intellectual accomplishments, besides the gifted Sir Francis Dillon Bell, and a host of others, all famous in the annals of the colony.

If there were not in the north such a number of brilliant and accomplished representative men, there were many distinguished for force of character, and conspicuous in developing the resources of the country. But in the early days of New Zealand, none excelled the late Dr. Martin, of Auckland, as a colonial representative man, as he was highly gifted, and possessed those literary attainments for which so many of the Celtic race of Scotland have been distinguished.

The second and concluding volume will be shortly published, containing sketches of the settlements of Otago and Canterbury; the introduction of constitutional government; the great native war—termination of hostilities; prosperous condition of the colony—its future welfare, and probable early development into a great nation.

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